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STOCKHOLM



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The figure reproduced on the cover of the Bulletin is a Neolithic ceramic object
from the Pan-shan group of Kansu.

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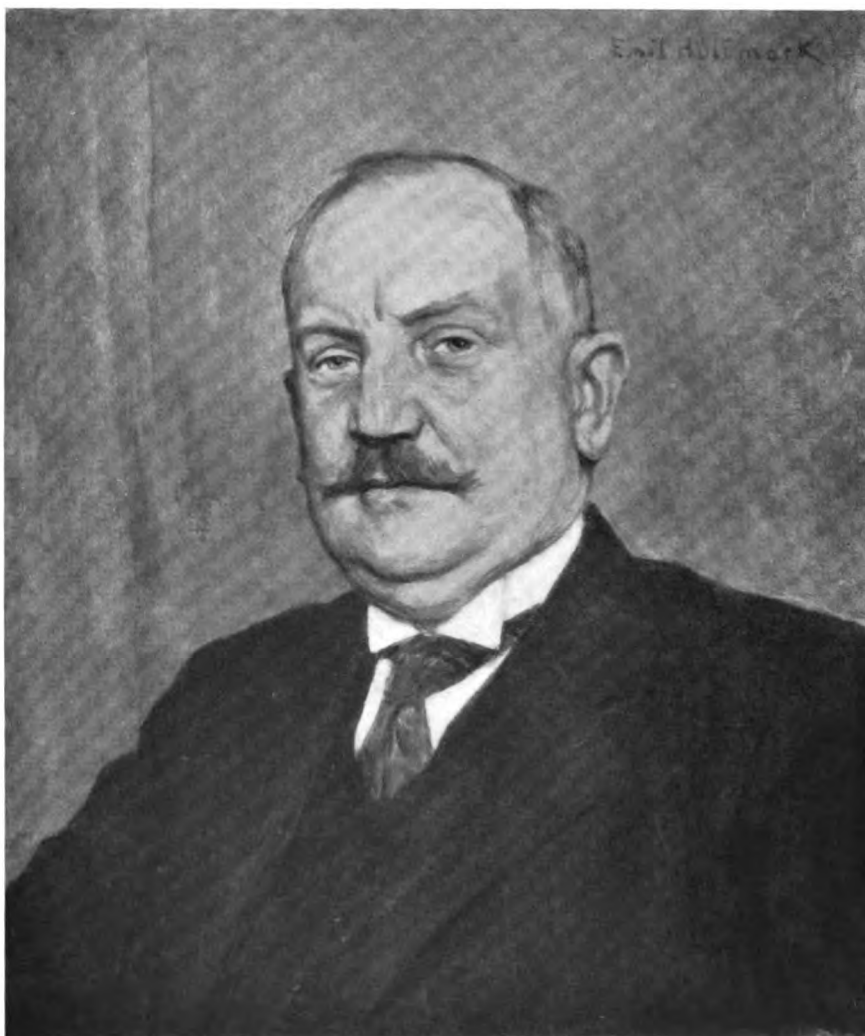
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DR. EMIL HULTMARK.

Scientific worker in the domain of art history, founder of a noted private collection of works of art and donator to Swedish Art Museums, was on the 12th of October 1931 presented by H. R. H. the Crown Prince with the medal of the Swedish China Research Committee in recognition of his generous support of the scientific work of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CHOU LI AND TSO CHUAN TEXTS

BY

BERNHARD KARLGREN.

One of the really great men of Chinese literature was Liu Hin († 22 A. D.), son of Liu Hiang. When the two Liu, father and son, cooperated in arranging and registering the documents of the imperial Han archives, they performed a service which has been of paramount value to later generations, not only through the saving of a great number of texts which might otherwise have been lost, but also through the purely bibliographical work they carried out. It is, of course, difficult to judge the part each of them played in this work, but so much is certain that it was the son, Liu Hin, who wrote the definite great book catalogue, *Ts'i lüe*, and his influence on scholarship in Eastern Han time was considerable: the school which became predominating and whose works have been the basis of all later scholarship in China, the Kia K'uei — Ma Jung — Cheng Hüan school, goes directly back to Liu Hin. The Kia K'uei chuan of the Hou Han shu expressly tells us that "K'uei's father Huei received (teaching in) the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu from Liu Hin and at the same time devoted himself to (*si* "exercised") the Kuo yü and the Chou kuan" and that K'uei "in everything continued the work of his father".

One might expect, then, that Liu Hin would have been honoured as a hero of the Chinese literature by the scholars of subsequent ages — for it required many centuries before a second and similar book catalogue was produced, and most of our bibliographical knowledge about the classical literature we owe to him! But just as the great hero in the political evolution of China, Ts'in Shī huang ti, has always been a black sheep to the historiographers, so Liu Hin has been cavilled at and denounced as a liar and a fraud, a man who forged the Chinese classics in order to pave the way for the usurper Wang Mang.

The cause of this is easy to detect. When, for one reason or other, a text has seemed suspicious, the critic has put the question: who can have forged this suspicious-looking text? And then he traces its history back to the earliest source which gives bibliographical data about it; and this will, in many cases, necessarily be poor old Liu Hin, because he was the first bibliographer! So he was evidently the great scoundrel.

Liu Hin's fame as a fraud rests mainly on his alleged forgery of the Chou li and the Tso chuan. Both of them are very extensive texts, exceedingly interesting, full of facts, names, titles, data and information about ancient China which.

if genuine, are of a tremendous value to the historian and the philologist. It is no mean tribute which is paid to Liu Hin's genius and scholarship, when it is assumed that he — besides his extensive bibliographical work — was capable of forging these two great texts in such a clever way that they were immediately accepted by his numerous followers as authentic works of the venerable Chou age! It is, however, an imputation which, for this very reason, is very unlikely to be true. And yet this idea of the execrable Liu Hin as a forger of these great texts has been widely spread. That the Chou li was forged by him has been believed by considerable numbers of learned Chinese for close upon a thousand years: and that the Tso chuan was concocted by Liu Hin is an idea that is more than a hundred years old, and one which has been accepted in far from negligible circles in China, as well as finding adherents in Europe.

The task I will set myself in the present paper is to show, by philological materials exclusively, that the story about Liu Hin as a forger of the Chou li and the Tso chuan is absolutely untenable, and that these texts are clearly pre-Han works. On the Chou li problem I have not entered in any previous work. The Tso chuan problem, on the contrary, I have treated extensively in my work "On the authenticity and nature of the Tso chuan" (Göteborgs Högskolas årskrift 1926). This paper consisted of two parts. In the first I adduced some passages in Si-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki which are clearly built on the Tso chuan; those were, however, few, and it could be argued that they might have belonged to some earlier work, now lost, of which the forger had made use when concocting his Tso chuan. In the second part I made an extensive grammatical analysis of the whole of the Tso chuan and showed that it has a peculiar grammar of its own which could not have been imagined and carried through by a Han time forger. This argument is in itself decisive, and properly it is unnecessary to adduce any more proofs. But as there are — and will always be — people who, not being linguists themselves, do not sufficiently realize the significance and proving force of linguistic facts, it seems to me to be useful to add new proof materials of a purely philological kind. This is all the more natural, since we can work, in the discussion of the Chou li and the Tso chuan, with materials that are to a large extent the same.

THE CHOU LI.

About the Chou li, or, as it was called in the earliest times, the Chou kuan ("officers of Chou"), we have the following early accounts:

The Shī ki of Si-ma Ts'ien, chapter Feng shan shu, mentions the Chou kuan in two places (Chavannes III, pp. 417, 497). In one of these places there is a direct quotation, and we shall see below that it is a strongly contracting and paraphrasing rendering, in the usual Si-ma Ts'ien style (cf. On the authenticity etc. p. 24) of a passage in the actual Chou li.

The Ts'i lüe (= Han shu, I wen chī) of Liu Hin:

"Chou kuan, king, liu p'ien

Chou kuan, the canon, 6 books;

Chou kuan, chuan, sī p'ien

Chou kuan, the commentary, 4 books.

A prince of the *liu kuo* 'six states' period, prince Wen of Wei, was very fond of antiquity. At the time of the emperor Hiao Wen (179—157 B. C.) they got hold of a musician of it (i. e. the country Wei¹), Tu kung, and presented his book [the book he kept]: it turned out to be the chapter Ta sī yüe of the section Ta tsung po in the Chou kuan. At the time of Wu ti (140—87 B. C.) king Hien of Ho kien liked the Confucian school, and together with the scholar Mao and others he collected what was said of music in the Chou kuan and various writers, and made of it the Yüe ki "memorial on music" and presented (to the emperor) the dance of eight rows of dancers".

The Han shu of Pan Ku, Ho kien Hien wang chuan: After having described how the king encouraged the presenting of books, so that he had got a library as well equipped as the imperial library, Pan ku continues: "The books which king Hien obtained were all old pre-Ts'in books in ancient script, such as Chou kuan, Shang shu, Li (rituals), Li ki (annotations on rites), Mencius, Lao tsī ... He established doctors for the Mao (version of the) Shī(king) and for the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu (= Tso chuan)."

Ma Jung († 166 A. D.) *ap.* Kia Kung-yen: Sū Chou li fei hing (in the Shī san king chu su): "In (the feudal kingdom) Ts'in, from Hiao kung and downwards, they used the methods of Lord Shang. Its rule was cruel and contrasting with the Chou kuan. Therefore, when Shī huang forbade the keeping of books, he especially detested and wanted to exterminate this one. He searched out and burned it completely. Therefore it was hidden for a hundred years. Hiao Wu²) first abolished the law against the keeping of books and opened the way for (encouraged) the presenting (to the emperor) of books. When it had thus been brought out from the wall of a house in the mountains, it was again put into the secret store (Imperial archives). The scholars of the five schools³) were not allowed to see it. When the emperor Hiao Ch'eng (32—7 B. C.) brought forward (promoted) talented men, the son of Liu Hiang, Hin, examined and arranged the secret books (books of the archives), and it was he who first got hold of it and arranged it and put it on the list (the Ts'i lüe). But they had lost one book of it, the Tung kuan ("winter officers"), and so he completed it by the K'ao

¹) The text runs: *Hiao wen shī te k'i yüe jen Tu kung*, and this has been interpreted as "they got hold of a musician of his (the prince of Wei); then this has given rise to yarns about this musician as a Methuselah (see the commentary of Yen Shī-ku) who still lived at the time of Wen ti. Liu Hin evidently has meant simply: a musician of it = the country of Wei (where ancient tradition was strong).

²) It was in reality Huei ti.

³) I. e. of the Rituals: Kao T'ang, Siao Fen, Hou Ts'ang, Meng K'ing and Tai (Tè and Sheng).

kung ki. At that time all the scholars came forward and attacked it and said it was not correct¹⁾. Only Hin understood (its value)."

Sün Yüe († 209 A. D.) (*ap. King i k'ao*, k. 120 p. 1 b): "Liu Hin made the Chou kuan, 16 *p'ien* books, into the "Chou li", and at the time of Wang Mang, Hin memorialized the throne to make it a *king* canonical book and *ch'i po shi* get doctors appointed for it".

Suei shu, King tsi ch'i:

"In Han time a Mr. Li got hold of the Chou kuan: Chou kuan is the government system instituted by Chou kung. He presented it to King Hien of Ho kien. There was only missing the one chapter *tung kuan*. King Hien wanted to buy it (this chapter) for thousand gold pieces, but could not get it; then he took the K'ao kung ki to fill out the (empty) space, so that it all made up 6 chapters, and then he presented it."

The ancient traditions all agree as to the appearance of the Chou li in the time of King Hien of Ho kien. The only divergence of opinion is in regard to the K'ao kung ki: some say it was combined with the Chou li already at the time of king Hien, others that it was only in Liu Hin's time.

Of the fate of the Chou li text immediately after Liu Hin we know *inter alia* that it was commented upon by Tu Tsi-ch'un, Cheng Hing, Cheng Chung and Kia K'uei, all in the 1st c. A. D. Of the commentary of Cheng Hing we have only a few fragments left from the first three sections (T'ien kuan, Ti kuan, Ch'un kuan); of the other three commentaries there are fairly extensive parts preserved, and they have been pieced together from ancient quotations (Yü han shan fang tsi i shu).

Of Cheng Hing it is stated in his biography in the Hou Han shu that he became Ta chung ta fu in 30 A. D., and that he was a specialist on the Tso shi (Tso chuan) and the Chou li. His son, Cheng Chung (Cheng Si-nung) is one of the most important expounders of the text. Tu Tsi-ch'un, on the other hand, was a direct pupil of Liu Hin's: (Suei shu, King tsi ch'i:) "Tu Tsi-ch'un was taught it (the Chou kuan) by Liu Hin, and then he taught it (to others)". Finally, in the Kia K'uei chuan of the Hou Han shu it is stated, that Kia K'uei's father, Kia Huei, was taught the Tso shi ch'un ts'iu by Liu Hin and at the same time occupied himself with (*si*) the Kuo yü and the Chou kuan. In the year 76 A. D. Kia K'uei was called to court and was entrusted with the writing of a commentary of the Chou kuan (*Chou kuan kie*).

The opinion of Chinese scholars regarding the authorship and age of the Chou li has varied extraordinarily. The orthodox thesis, that it was a work of Chou

¹⁾ It has been said by some critics that this shows that already in Liu's life time the Chou li was considered spurious. This is certainly not so. *Fei shi*, not right, not correct, means simply that they found it did not agree with the statements of other sacred writings, and hence was not correct, not orthodox. (Liang K'i-ch'ao, Chinese political thought, p. 27: "It was first known at the end of the West Han dynasty. Scholars of that time pronounced it spurious".)

kung, sponsored e.g. by Cheng Hsüan († 200 A.D.) and upheld by a long row of prominent scholars through the ages, was early abandoned by more critical heads. Already Ho Hiu († 182 A.D.) declared it to be a work of the period of the warring states (3 d c. B.C.), and from early times some scholars intimated that Liu Hin had made interpolations in it. It was not until Sung time, however, that Liu was directly accused of having downrightly concocted the Chou li. This accusation was brought forward by the prominent scholar Hu An-kuo († 1138 A.D.) and his son Hu Hung; and it wanted all the prestige of great scholars and critics like Chu Hi, Cheng Ts'iao and Ma Tuan-lin, who firmly believed in the authenticity of it as a Chou time work, to save it from absolute rejection in the learned world. Ma, indeed, tells us, that "of earlier scholars half believed in it and half did not". Down to our days the question has remained open. Some of the greatest Chinese scholars of the last centuries have believed in the work, since they have expounded it more or less extensively: Mao K'i-ling, Wang Nien-sun, Yü Yüe, Sun I-jang. But faith in it has never been entirely restored. Amongst others, the very good scholar Wan Si-ta has devoted a book to proving it to be spurious, Yao Tsi-heng in his *Ku kin wei shu k'ao* states it to be a forgery of Liu Hin's, and K'ang Yu-wei, the notorious politician of 1898 — who has had a considerable intellectual influence in modern China — rejects it utterly, in his *Wei king k'ao*, as a patent forgery of Liu's. A mediating position takes the great scholar Liang K'i-ch'ao (*Chinese political thought* p. 27): "It is probable that Chou kung was not its author, nor is it entirely the fabrication of Han scholars. It seems that it is partly a description of the political organisation of the emperors Li and Hsuan of the West Han dynasty (misprint for West Chou: Li and Süan ruled 878—782 B. C.), and partly a description of the practices during the ch'un ts'iu and chan kuo periods. To this mixture the scholars added their own ideas. This is only a conjecture which ought to be verified."

The arguments adduced against the authenticity of the text (apart from details; there are certainly interpolations in the Chou li) can practically all be summed up thus: the government system described in the Chou li is very suspect; it does not agree with what we know of the administrative system of the Chou from other sources. This criticism has already been effectively refuted by the editors of the *S'i k'u ts'üan shu tsung mu*: If Liu Hin had forged the book and wanted it accepted, why on earth did he deviate on dozens of glaring points from the other well-known Chou time works, the *Rituals* and others? If he wished to help Wang Mang, as generally intimated, he could have cheated on those points where he could be helpful to his powerful friend, but why should he deviate from the accepted tradition on points which were of no earthly use to Wang Mang? The discrepancies between the Chou li system and that of other Chou works (it must be remembered also that there are strong divergencies between those as well, e.g. regarding the division of the empire in provinces and zones) speak

against the Chou li having been concocted at a time when those works were already more or less revered classics.

This argument goes against the Chou li having been forged as late as the end of Western Han time, be it by Liu Hin or somebody else. Against the theory of Liu as the forger there is another potent reason. We know that Liu was a fervent champion of the Tso chuan (forged by him or not). Now, there are, in the Tso chuan, a great number of passages where Li "the rituals" have been quoted, and none of them are to be found in the Chou li. If Liu Hin forged the Chou li and wanted it accepted, why should he not have inserted some of the Li passages from the Tso chuan? For explaining this it would not help to assume that he first forged the Chou li and then the Tso chuan, for in such a case he would certainly have introduced some Chou li passages into the Tso chuan. The only possible way out of all this would be to say that Liu first, without knowing anything at all about the Tso chuan, forged the Chou li, and then afterwards got to know about and became an admirer of a genuine Tso chuan which he could not tamper with — an extremely far fetched and impossible explanation.

As to the controversy between the Chinese critics about the nature of the Chou li as a pre-Han work or a work forged in Han time (by Liu or somebody else), I will not go into any detailed discussion of it, as I am going to tackle the problem from quite another side.

In the sinological circles of the West, opinions about the Chou li have also been very much at variance. Whereas earlier the work was generally accepted, e. g. by Ed. Biot ¹⁾, Ed. Chavannes and A. Conrady, it has been more and more doubted in recent years. I will quote a few examples.

O. Kümmel, *Ostas. Zeitschr.* 1930, p. 291: „Außerdem wäre es zu überlegen, ob das Chouli überhaupt mit einigem Erfolge zu diesen Untersuchungen (i. e. about the archaeology of the Chou epoch) herangezogen werden kann, so lange wir nicht ein klares Urteil über seine Zuverlässigkeit haben . . . wo eine Kontrolle möglich ist, scheint es Pelliot recht zu geben, der in ihm nicht mehr sieht als eine Utopie der Han. Dann aber verlohnt es sich kaum, einen so unzuverlässigen Zeugen überhaupt zu hören.“

W. Perceval Yetts, *Catalogue of the George Eumorphopoulos collection of Chinese bronzes . . . I*, 1929, p. 34: "The main body is suspected of being a Han attempt to construct an utopian scheme of administration, and the K'ao kung ki section may be even later than the Han". (Let us dispatch this last-mentioned idea at once: we have, as stated above, in our hands considerable parts of the commentaries to the Chou li written by Liu Hin's immediate followers, Tu Tsī-ch'un, Cheng Chung and Kia K'uei in the first c. A. D.; and they all treat the K'ao kung ki section just as well as the first five parts. There is no possibility of a doubt that the

¹⁾ Who has made a translation of it (*Le Tcheou li*, 1851) which for its time was a splendid achievement and is still in all essentials quite acceptable.

K'ao kung ki was inserted into the Chou li at least not later than the time of Liu Hin).

O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* I, 1930, p. 95, 96: „Dabei darf man aber nicht übersehen, daß das Chou li erst am Ende der vorchristlichen Zeit und zu bestimmten politischen Zwecken zusammengestellt ist ... Aber die in dem Werke bis zum Grotesken durchgeführte Organisation kann nur durch die liebevolle Hingabe eines naiven Theoretikers in einer viel späteren Zeit, vielleicht im 1. Jahrh. v. Chr., wenn nicht noch später, als politisches Idealgebilde konstruiert worden sein. Davon ergibt sich, daß der Text des Tschou li in seiner heutigen Form zwar erst damals niedergeschrieben sein kann, daß aber alte Nachrichten vorhanden gewesen sein müssen, die dem Konstruktor die Grundlage lieferte“.

The most extensive Western work on the alleged forgery of the Chou li is C. Harlez, *Le Tcheou-li et le Shan-hai-king*, T'oung Pao 1894. It is nearly exclusively a vindication that the system of officials given in the Chou li disagrees with various other ancient sources; it is therefore but a repetition of the medieval Chinese criticism.

There are, however, also some modern European sinologues who do not accept this idea of the Chou li as a Han time forgery, and among them the greatest contemporary Western authority on the history of ancient China, H. Maspero. He writes (*La Chine antique* 1927, p. XII): “Tcheou li, recueil administratif du IV^e siècle a. C., mais ayant subi divers remaniements et interpolations au temps des Han.” A quite extensive defense of the Chou li is given by B. Schindler in his *Das Priestertum im alten China*, 1919, pp. 55—77. Unfortunately the principal part of his argumentation falls to the ground because he operates with a spurious chapter of the Shu king. But there are other observations of a considerable value, and, as we shall see below, he has adduced some arguments of real importance.

It is obvious that Maspero's opinion of the Chou li as a “recueil administratif du IV^e siècle” is perfectly admissible from the point of view of the content of the Chou li. That the organisation scheme described in the Chou li can never have existed in all its details, with its highly speculative numerical categories, neither in the time of Chou kung nor later, is evident; but this certainly does not prove that the work was written “at a much later time” viz. in Han time. During the last centuries of the Chou era the old feudal organisation was not only in full decay, it was to a large extent entirely abolished. The description in this work of how the sacred social organisation of the Chou ought to look might just as well have been written by a speculative brain about 300 B. C. as three centuries later. A Chinese gentlemen of today will find his greatest delight in writing *chang-ch'eng* “regulations” of any sort — China ist inundated with *chang-ch'eng* at this moment. The Chou li is the fruit of a *chang-ch'eng* writer's literary pleasures — and he may have flourished at any time after the disintegration of the political system of the Chou. But it is obvious that it makes an enormous difference to the scientific value of the work, if this scholastic catechism was composed in pre-Han

time, or if it was concocted some 250 years after the fall of the Chou. In the former case it was written at a time when, after all, the Chou civilisation in all its concrete details was still alive and flourishing, and once we have deducted all the numerical scholastics, which are obviously a play of an imagination too fond of systematisation, we have a residue of highly important concrete information about the Chou epoch. In the latter case it would have been concocted at a time when there may have still existed a considerable amount of knowledge of ancient matters, but when this knowledge must have been faulty and distorted on a great many points; its documentary value and its reliability would be so much invalidated that we should have to agree with Kummel in his statement, that it is hardly worth adducing for the elucidation of the archaeology of the Chou epoch.

THE TSO CHUAN.

The earliest accounts of the Tso chuan, or, as it was called originally, the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, are related by Legge, Ch. Cl. V, prol. pp. 22—27, and are extensively discussed by Otto Franke in his *Studien zur Geschichte des konfuzianischen Dogmas und der chinesischen Staatsreligion* 1920, and in my work quoted above. It is not necessary to repeat them all here. I only wish to remind the reader of the principal data about the handing down of the text — the earliest part of the pedigree being evidently pious legends, the later parts becoming more historical and reliable:

The Shī ki of Sī-ma Ts'ien, k. 14, p. 1 (Chavannes III, p. 18), after having described how Confucius compiled the Ch'un ts'iu and used it in his teachings, proceeds: "A sage from Lu, Tso K'iu-ming (or Tso-k'iu Ming) feared that the various disciples should diverge in their ideas (of the meaning of the Ch'un ts'iu) and each of them follow his own opinion and miss the truth of the matter, therefore he based himself on Confucius' historical annotations and completely discussed its wordings and made the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu. To Tsiao was tutor of king Wei of Ch'u. As the king could not read the whole of the Ch'un ts'iu, he selected 40 chapters dealing with success and failure, and made the To shī wei "the subtleties of To" (after which, several later Ch'un ts'iu works are mentioned) . . . " . . . " In Han time, the Prime Minister, Chang Ts'ang made a systematic table of the five virtues (*tê*, by which the dynasties successively rule; evidently, as follows from the context, some work on the Ch'un ts'iu), and the Shang ta fu Tung Chung-shu went to the fundamental meaning of the Ch'un ts'iu and wrote voluminously thereon".

Observe here that the selection of To could not have been made from the very short Ch'un ts'iu text itself, but must have been from the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu. The commentaries of the other schools, known by the names of their later champions, Kung-yang and Ku-liang, are also quite short.

Liu Hiang, in his *Pie lu* (*ap.* K'ung Ying-ta, Ch'un ts'iu Tso chuan cheng i, comm. to Tu Yü's preface) says: "Tso K'iu-ming gave his work to Tseng Shen.

Shen gave it to Wu K'i; K'i gave it to his son Ki; Ki gave it to a man from Ch'u, To Tsiao, who copied out selections from it in 8 books. He gave it to Yü K'ing; Yü K'ing copied out selections in 9 books. He gave it to Sün K'ing (Sün-tsi). Sün K'ing gave it to Chang Ts'ang".

Here we find the same To Tsiao and Chang Ts'ang as in Si-ma's account, and both of them here clearly connected with the Tso work.

Liu Hin, a letter reproduced in the Han shu (Liu Hin chuan, app. to Ch'u Yüan wang chuan): "When Prince Kung of Lu destroyed Confucius' house and wanted to build a palace there, he found manuscripts in ancient characters in the destroyed wall. (Earlier) lost Rituals, 39 sections, Shu (Shu king), 16 sections. After the period T'ien-han (100—97 B. C.) K'ung An-kuo presented them (to the throne). But he met with the flurry of the sorcery trials and they were never ordered to be divulged (to the public). Together with the Ch'un ts'iu in the version of Tso K'iu-ming, old documents in ancient characters, to a number of more than 20 envelopes, they were hidden in the secret archives, and lay there and were not let out."

Wang Ch'ung, Lun heng (Forke I, p. 462): "The Ch'un ts'iu Tso chuan came out of the wall of the house of Confucius. In the reign of the Emperor, Hiao Wu ti, Prince Kung of Lu demolished the school of Confucius for the purpose of building a palace. There he found 30 books of the Ch'un ts'iu which had been concealed. These were the Tso chuan."

Hü Shen, preface to Shuo wen kie tsi: "The books from the wall (of Confucius' house) were the Li ki, Shang shu, Ch'un ts'iu, Lun yü and Hiao king, which Prince Kung of Lu got when demolishing Confucius' house. Furthermore the Duke of Pei-p'ing, Chang Ts'ang, presented (to the Emperor) the Ch'un ts'iu Tso shi chuan."

Han shu, Ju lin chuan (the end): "At the rise of the Han, the Duke of Pei-p'ing, Chang Ts'ang, and the t'ai-fu of Liang, Kia I, the King chao yin Chang Ch'ang, the t'ai chung ta fu Liu kung-tsi all cultivated (devoted themselves to) the Ch'un ts'iu Tso shi chuan. (Kia) I made a *Tso shi chuan hün ku* commentary of the Tso shi chuan. He gave it to a man from Chao, Kuan kung. He was a doctor with King Hien of Ho kien. His son Chang K'ing was ling yin in T'ang. He gave it to the eldest son of Chang Yü from Ts'ing ho. Yü was yü shi at the same time as Siao Wang-chi. Several times he spoke to Wang-chi about the Tso shi. Wang-chi liked it and sent up memorials and several times praised it. Afterwards (Siao) Wang-chi became t'ai fu of the heir-apparent. He recommended Yü to the Emperor Sün. He called in Yü to appear at court. Before he had time to be interrogated (by the emperor), he fell sick and died. He gave (the Tso shi) to Yin Keng-shi. Keng-shi gave it to his son Hien and to Tsê Fang-tsin and Hu Ch'ang. Ch'ang gave it to Kia Hu from Li Yang. At the time of the Emperor Ai he was called to court and became a lang. He gave it to Ts'ang Wu and to I, the son of Ch'en K'in. He taught Wang Mang the Tso shi. At the time when (Wang) Mang became a general, Liu Hin received it from Yin Hien and Tsê Fang-tsin. From that time, those who spoke of (taught) the Tso shi based themselves on Kia Hu and Liu Hin."

Ibid. Tsan: „Furthermore, in the reign of P'ing ti (1—5 A. D.) they established (i. e. in the official schools) the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, the Mao Shī, the recovered Rituals and the Ku wen Shang shu.”

There is a remarkable similarity between these accounts, with one exception (Wang Ch'ung). The acknowledged starting point in Han time is Chang Ts'ang (made Duke of Pei-p'ing in 200 B. C.). So it is expressly stated by Si-ma Ts'ien, Liu Hsiang, Pan Ku, Hū Shen; and it goes well together with Liu Hin's letter. Chang Ts'ang on the one hand presented a copy to the Emperor (very likely the copy used by Si-ma Ts'ien), on the other hand he taught it and became the originator of a Tso shī school, as described by Pan Ku, a school which amongst others found its adherents in the literary circles round King Hien of Ho kien.

The imperial copy of the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu presented by Chang Ts'ang had nothing whatever to do with the book finds in Confucius' house. Liu Hin expressly says so: it was only hidden in the archives together with some books said to have been recovered there¹⁾. Wang Ch'ung, who has evidently read Liu Hin's famous letter, has been careless and muddled the story on this point: he says the Tso chuan was among them (a very excusable slip, due to the insidious formulation of Liu Hin's). The more careful Hū Shen has not made this mistake: he, again, clearly states that the Tso chuan was not among the finds but was presented by Chang Ts'ang.

Liu Hin's sources for the Tso chuan thus were two: on the one hand he had the Chang Ts'ang copy of the archives. On the other hand he had the living lore of the Tso shī school, at his time headed amongst others by Yin Hien and Tsê Fang-tsin. Thanks to the help of these two scholars he could successfully work on and arrange the somewhat ancient (200 years old) text of Chang Ts'ang's.

These data about the Tso chuan have not always been implicitly believed. The chief opponent against the Tso chuan among Chinese scholars was Liu Feng-lu († 1829). In his Tso shī ch'un ts'iu k'ao cheng (included in the Huang Ts'ing king kie) he tries to show that the original Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, a work of the *chan kuo* “warring states” period, was largely altered and added to by Liu Hin. His arguments are highly unconvincing²⁾.

¹⁾ These finds “in the destroyed wall” are more or less legendary, as shown especially by Pelliot, *Le Chou King en caractères anciens et le Chang chou che wen*, *Mém. conc. l'Asie Or. II*, 1916, p. 132 ff.

²⁾ A few examples will suffice to show this. When Tso chuan, Yin 1st year, says: “A sage will say that Ying K'ao-shu was perfectly filial; he loved his mother, and (his goodness) spread out and reached to (*i ki*) Duke Chuang”, Liu objects that Chuang was ruler, K'ao-shu a subject the term *i ki* “spread out and reach to” would be a very unseemly expression: hence the passage is a later addition. — When Tso chuan, Yin 1st year, says: “There were locusts; they did not amount to a plague (*tsai*); hence it is not recorded (in the Ch'un ts'iu)”, Liu objects: “(swarms of) locusts are curious natural phenomena, they are not things that constitute a plague”. When the Tso chuan, Yin 11th year, says: “The Duke sent a request by Yü-fu to the Marquis of Sie (who had disputed about the order of precedence with the Marquis of T'eng at a covenant), saying: ... the house of Chou at covenants first records the princes of its own sur-

Still more so is the argumentation of K'ang Yu-wei in his *Wei king k'ao*, where he insists that Liu Hin directly concocted the Tso chuan by aid of the Kuo yü! It is very astonishing that a great scholar like Liang K'i-ch'ao, once a pupil of K'ang Yu-wei, has without comment accepted this view (Chinese political thought p. 26): "Tso chuan was produced towards the end of the Han dynasty (206 B. C. — A. D. 24) by the method of extracting parts of the Kuo yü and mixing them with spurious writings."

Western sinologues generally have accepted the Tso chuan as a Chou time work, yet not always without misgivings. P. Pelliot (*op. cit.* p. 135, note) wrote in 1916: "La question du Tso tchouan n'est pas beaucoup plus claire que celle du Chou king. Il est hors de question que ce commentaire ait été fait par le Tso-k'ieou Ming (ou Tso K'ieou-ming) qui est nommé dans le Louen yu. Il y a donc toute apparence que le nom de Tso-k'ieou Ming donné à l'auteur soit une addition du temps des Han. D'autre part, ce commentaire apparaît sous les Han d'une façon un peu inquiétante, mêlé aux histoires de faux manuscrits qui nous occupent ici. Sous les Han occidentaux, le Tso tchouan ne fut guère estimé; Lieou Hin perdit sa charge de bibliothécaire pour s'être fait son défenseur; la fortune du Tso tschouan ne commence qu'au 1er siècle de notre ère. A ce moment, Wang Tch'ong rapporte sur le Tso tchouan des traditions bien étranges (cf. my quotation above) ... Sans aller jusqu'à admettre avec Allen que les classiques chinois sont une collection de faux, il se peut que leur étude, quand on l'aura quousée assez à fond, amène à en séparer un déchet considérable."

O. Franke, in his above-mentioned work (1920) fully accepted Liu Feng-lu's theory, that Liu Hin wrote the Tso chuan, making use of an earlier work, the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, as a nucleus, which he added to and altered at his own convenience, and passing his own work off as a venerable work of high antiquity¹). Franke also extensively related the views of K'ang Yu-wei, without going himself to the same extreme as this writer. In spite of my work of 1926, Franke seems to abide by his earlier opinion, for in his *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches I*, 1930, p. 95, he says „Leider ist das Tso Tschuan von unbekannter und nicht unverdächtiger Herkunft.“ In the wake of Franke has followed R. Wilhelm, who calls Liu Hin „Büchermacher“.

name and those of different surnames come after", Liu objects that in its entry about the covenant at Tsien-t'u (Hi, 28th year) the Ch'un ts'iu text of Confucius records the princes of Ts'i (clan Kiang) and Sung (clan Tsi) before Cheng and Wei (who were of the Ki clan, just as Chou and Lu) — hence we can see that the Tso chuan passage above is a spurious addition! With arguments like these no serious discussion is possible.

¹) The imputation against Liu Hin constantly repeated by Franke, that he was an "immoral" man, because he supported the usurper Wang Mang, seems to me quite unallowable. That Liu Hin sided with Wang, though belonging to the Imperial House himself, shows no lack of morals. If Wang had been successful in supplanting a corrupt and incompetent house, his helper Liu Hin would have been considered a hero, who, unselfishly sacrificing his own family, had understood and followed the *t'ien ming* the decree of Heaven!

In order to prove that neither the Chou li nor the Tso chuan can have been written by Liu Hin but are indeed pre-Han works I am going to make use of four works: the Mao Shī (text and commentary), the Er ya, the Li, Rituals, and the Shī ki.

THE MAO SHĪ

As this work is going to play a very important part in my contention, I shall have to make a detailed and somewhat lengthy investigation of its age and nature.

The oldest notices about Mao's version of the Shī and the Mao commentary are the following:

Liu Hin, Ts'i lüe (= Han shu, I wen chī):

"Mao Shī, 29 kūan;

Mao Shī ku hūn chuan, 30 kūan."

And Liu continues, after having described the three other schools of the Shī (Lu, Ts'i and Han Shī): "There was further the school of Mao kung (Mr. Mao) which professed to have (the odes) transmitted from Tsi-hia (the famous disciple of Confucius); King Hien of Ho kien liked it, but it was not yet allowed to be established (in the official schools)."

Han shu, Ho kien Hien wang chuan (k. 53): "He (King Hien) established doctors for the Mao Shī and for the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu."

Han shu, Ju lin chuan (k. 88): "Mao kung was a man from Chao. He treated (*chī*) the Shī and was a doctor with King Hien of Ho kien. He gave it (the version and commentary) to a man from his own country, Kuan Ch'ang-k'ing. Ch'ang-k'ing gave it to Hie Yen-nien. When Yen-nien was Prefect of A-wu, he gave it to Sū Ao. Ao gave it to a man from Kiu-kiang, Ch'en Kie, who was kiang hūe ta fu with Wang Mang. Thus, those who discoursed upon the Mao Shī based themselves on Sū Ao." (From this time onwards the history of the Mao version is very well attested, see Legge p. 11).

Ibid., Tsan: "At the time of P'ing ti (1—5 A. D.) they further established (i. e. in the official schools) Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, Mao Shī, the recovered rites (*i Li*) and Ku wen Shang shu."

Cheng Hūan, Shī p'u, 2 d c. A. D. (*ap.* K'ung Ying-ta, Mao Shī cheng i, section Chou nan, introd.): "A man from Lu, the elder Mao (Ta Mao kung) made a *hūn ku chuan* commentary in his house; King Hien of Ho kien obtained it and presented it (to the imperial court) and made the younger Mao (Siao Mao kung) a doctor (i. e. of the Mao Shī)."

The Mao Shī ts'ao mu niao shou ch'ung yū su, of Lu Ki (3 d c. A. D.): "When K'ung tsī had made his selection of the odes, he delivered them to Pu Shang (Tsi-hia). Shang made a preface to it and gave it to a man from Lu, Tseng Shen. Shen gave it to a man from Wei, Li K'o. K'o gave it to a man from Lu, Meng Chung-tsī. Chung-tsī gave it to Ken Mou-tsī. Ken Mou-tsī gave it to a man from Chao, Sūn K'ing (Sūn-tsī). Sūn K'ing gave it to Mao Heng of the Lu province. Heng

made a *ku hün chuan* commentary and gave it to Mao Ch'ang. The contemporaries called Heng the elder Mao (Ta Mao kung) and Mao Ch'ang the younger Mao (Siao Mao kung), and after the commentary they called the odes (in this version) Mao Shī. Ch'ang was a *po shī* doctor with King Hien of Ho kien; he gave it to his compatriote Kuan Ch'ang-k'ing etc." (here follows the same genealogy as in Han shu above).

Sü Cheng (3 d c. A. D.) (*ap.* Lu Tê-ming, preface to Shī in the Shī san king chu su): "Tsi-hia gave it (his version of the Shī) to Kao Hing-tsi. Kao Hing-tsi gave it to Sie Ts'ang-tsi. Sie Ts'ang-tsi gave it to Po Miao-tsi. Po Miao-tsi gave it to a man from Ho kien, the elder Mao (Ta Mao kung). Mao kung made a *Shī ku hün chuan* "old reading and commentary of the Shī in his house, and gave it to the younger Mao (Siao Mao kung). The younger Mao was a doctor with King Hien of Ho kien. Because he was not at the Han court (imperial court), it (his version) was not established in the schools."

Hou Han shu, Ju lin chuan: "A man from Chao, Mao Ch'ang commented on the Shī; this is the Mao Shī."

Suei shu, King tsi chī: "Mao Shī, 20 kün; commentary of the Han time t'ai shou of Ho kien, Mao Ch'ang."

These traditions are all remarkably unanimous in attributing the Mao commentary to the 2 d c. B. C. All Chinese scholars, as far as I am aware (except K'ang Yu-wei to whom I shall revert presently), have accepted these testimonies. Not even the sweeping critic Yao Tsi-heng, who in his *Ku kin wei shu k'ao* makes a regular holocaust of ancient works which he believes to be spurious, amongst others several early commentaries to classics, has anything to say against the Mao commentary. There is, indeed, no reason at all why we should doubt Pan Ku's data about the handing down of it from Mao Ch'ang to Sū Ao.

If the dating of the Mao commentary to the 2 d c. B. C. is thus quite safe, there are two points in the traditions quoted above where there are discrepancies.

In the first place, Lu Ki's and Sū Ch'eng's genealogies of the text version from Pu Shang (Tsi-hia) down to Mao Heng are quite different. They are of approximately the same age, so a decision on the ground of age cannot be made. Chinese scholars generally have accepted the Lu Ki genealogy, which makes Mao Heng a follower of Sün-tsi. As we shall see presently, there is strong internal evidence that this is right.

Secondly, authorities are not agreed on an important point: whether the commentary we actually have was written by Mao Heng or Mao Ch'ang. The great bibliographer of the classics. Chu I-tsun in his *King i k'ao* (cf. Giles, *Biogr. dict.* nr. 453) attributes it to Mao Ch'ang, and interprets the entries in Liu Hin's *Ts'i lü* thus:

"Mao Shī, 29 kün" — that is Mao Heng's work, now lost;

"Mao Shī ku hün chuan" — that is Mao Ch'angs work, now extant.

Against this, later scholars have raised serious objections, summed up by the editors of the Imperial catalogue: Chu's interpretation builds on the latest ac-

counts (that of Hou Han shu and Sui shu) and goes directly against the earlier accounts (Cheng Hsüan, Lu Ki, Sū Cheng), which all state that the Ku hün chuan was written by the elder Mao, not by the younger. This is confirmed by the great scholar Tuan Yü-ts'ai (Huang Ts'ing king kie k. 600, preface) who points out that Liu Hin's entries have to be interpreted quite differently. In Western Han time one had not yet invented the arrangement which in the Eastern Han time became usual, viz. of writing the classical text and the commentary together, with the commentary interlinear; one had the commentary as a separate book. Therefore, "Mao Shī, 29 kün" means the text proper, Mao Shī ku hün chuan, 30 kün" means the commentary without the text. Consequently, no commentary of Heng's as differing from the present Mao commentary, and now lost, has ever existed. What we have is Mao Heng's commentary. The greatest authority on the Shī king, Ch'en Huan, is of the same opinion (passim in his commentary). This is all plain sailing, and an unbiased observer must agree that we cannot accept Chu I-tsun's theory of a lost commentary by Mao Heng. In the extant work we certainly have essentially the original work of Mao Heng.

If we were to accept uncritically the tradition of Lu Ki, that Mao Heng was a direct disciple of Sün-tsi, this would lead us to believe that the Mao commentary was written in the very first years of the Han dynasty if not earlier. For Sün-tsi was born about 300 B. C., flourished in the middle of the 3d c., was still alive in 237 B. C. but must have died a few years later¹). But this tallies badly with the tradition that Heng personally gave his version to Mao Ch'ang who was a doctor with king Hien of Ho kien (reigning 155—129 B. C.). Though not entirely impossible, if we reckon with an extremely high age of both scholars Mao, yet it is hardly probable. As we shall see, there is internal evidence for the fact that Mao Heng was really a follower of Sün-tsi, but probably he was only a disciple's disciple, and a link in the chain can reasonably have been skipped. That this was so I think is confirmed by certain peculiarities in the Mao commentary. There are frequent references in it to a great number of classical texts: Lun yü, Kuo yü, various ritual tracts which were later gathered into the present collections Li ki, Ta Tai li and I li. This does not necessarily forbid, it is true, a theory that the entire Mao commentary was written during the very first decades of the Han era, for it is pretty sure that the interdict against literature was not severely kept up more than three years (213—210), during the life of Shī huang ti. The tales how, in the middle of the 2d c. B. C., ancient books were "recovered" in romantic circumstances (in the walls of Confucius' house etc.) or written down from memory, are largely legends, as proved by Pelliot (*op. cit.*). The books certainly were never quite extinguished, and there was no need of taking them down from memory. But, on the other hand, the historical accounts of the early years of the Han dynasty show us a China little favour-

¹) See the excellent article by J. J. L. Duyvendak: The Chronology of Hsüntzū, TP XXVI, 1928.

able to literary work and scholarly studies. Liu Pang (Kao tsu) was a rough peasant who despised the scholars, and the learned men were sweepingly ousted from their favoured position of venerable councillors and confidential officers. It was not till well into the reigns of Wen ti and King ti that scholarship regained its venerated status, and it is therefore only towards the middle of the 2d c. that a great number of texts could have been "recovered" in the sense that they were multiplied and studied by a greater number of students. The many references in the Mao chuan to various Chou period works seem to me to indicate a date for its composition which is nearer to 150 than to 200 B. C.

Again, it must be clearly stated that though we accept the Mao commentary as a work written not by Mao Ch'ang, a doctor at the Court of King Hien of Ho kien, but by his immediate predecessor, Mao Heng, yet we cannot be sure that Ch'ang did not add to, and polish it. After Mao Ch'ang there were surely no additions, for the school was firmly established in Ho kien. Mao Ch'ang was made a doctor of the "Mao Shī", and the text and commentary certainly then chrystallized into its definite shape. But we must not shut our eyes to the possibility that Mao Ch'ang, who became the great, final authority of the Mao version, may have added to Mao Heng's commentary, so that certain parts of it may be as late as 130 B. C.

So far, we have based ourselves mainly on the literary data about the history of the Mao Shī. But, of course, this may not satisfy every Thomas. If a sceptic can surmise that Liu Hin was clever enough to concoct two large works like Chou li and Tso chuan, and to bluff his contemporaries and immediate followers — *inter alia* great scholars like Kia K'uei (30—101 A. D.) — into believing them authentic, why not conclude that he forged also the Mao version of the Shī king and the Mao commentary as well (and perhaps also most other literary works extant at that time) and passed them off as a work of the 2d century, concocting even a genealogy for it which has been swallowed later on by Pan Ku? After all, it was in Liu Hin's time that the Mao Shī was "established in the schools", and tradition connects it with this same king Hien of Ho kien who is mixed up with both the Chou li and the Tso chuan! Does not this seem very suspect?

This, indeed, is the opinion of K'ang Yu-wei (Nan-hai) who in his Wei king k'ao makes Liu Hin the forger of nearly all the present classics. His entirely unscientific and uncritical work does not deserve much serious consideration and would probably never have attracted attention but for the fact that K'ang played an important political part in 1898. As a striking example of unscholarly criticism I will mention here his fifteen reasons for condemning the Mao Shī (text and commentary) as a forgery of Liu Hin's (Wei king k'ao, K. 3 A, p. 12—16):

1. There was a sudden appearance of the Mao Shī in Wang Mang's time, and the formulation in the Ts'i lüe is vague: "which professed to have the Odes transmitted from Tsi-hia".

2. There is a discrepancy between the pedigrees given by Lu Ki and Sū Cheng.
3. Some say Mao Kung was a man from Ho Kien, some say he was from Lu.
4. Whereas Liu Hin and Pan Ku only mention the name Mao (Mao Kung. Mr. Mao), Cheng Hūan and Sū Cheng and Lu Ki, 150—300 years after Liu, knew the difference between the elder Mao and younger Mao, and even their names, Heng and Ch'ang.
5. The links of transmission are too few, both from Tsi-hia to Mao and from Mao to Sū Ao.
6. Sī-ma Ts'ien knows nothing of Mao, Pan Ku knows only the name Mao, Cheng Hūan and Sū Cheng know only the difference between the elder and the younger Mao, it is only Lu Ki who knows the names Heng and Ch'ang (this is practically a repetition of Nr. 4, as above).
7. Shī ki, in the chapter on King Hien of Ho kien, says nothing of the Mao Shi in Ho kien.
- 8—9. The arrangement and division of sections in the Mao Shī differ from the other versions.
- 10—11. Mao takes Shang sung to be odes from the Shang dynasty, not, as other scholars of the time, to be odes from the country Sung.
12. Shī ki and other ancient sources speak of 305 odes, Mao reckons with 311.
13. The Mao glosses to various odes are simply made by aid of the words of the text, and show no knowledge of the events, alluded to in the ode; they are empty and foolish.
14. Too many odes are taken as criticisms against King Yu.
15. Mao does not properly understand the relations of the Odes to the ancient music.

Points 1, 8—11, 13—15 we can ignore; they deserve no refutation.

Point 2. The fact that the legends about the text transmission before Mao are confused (and hence different with two authors, Lu and Sū, some 400 years after Mao) is taken as a proof that the pedigree must be wrong also from and after Mao, and that the commentary was not written by Mao but forged some 150 years later — is this sound reasoning?

Point 3. Is it fatal to the work that the birth place of Mao is insufficiently known and hence differently reported?

Points 4, 6 and 7. This is a very common, but none the less very foolish way of reasoning. K'ang seems to think that no other literary works have existed in Han time than those we possess to day, and that detailed information given a couple of centuries A. D. must have been invented then, if they are not to be found in the Western Han works preserved to our days. To this there is a self-evident reply: if K'ang had counted the notices in the Ts'i lüe, giving the literature extant about J. C. (and probably far from complete), he would have

found 596 authors with works amounting to 13.269 books! Out of these we possess to day only a very small fraction. Does K'ang really believe that all those which we have not got to day were lost before 200—300 A. D.? We have abundant proofs that a mass of this literature existed down to T'ang time, and even later, which is now lost. Therefore, Cheng Hsüan, Lu ki and Sū Cheng may have had any amount of sources from Western Han time to draw upon, and the silence of Shī ki proves nothing at all. It is almost embarrassing to have to make such elementary comments.

Point 5. The links of transmission *before* and *after* Mao are two different traditions, and need not be judged together. If the former is too short, the latter is not necessarily so.

Point 12. This speaks directly *against* Liu Hin's having forget the Mao Shī. If he had, why should he deviate from the traditional number of odes and so attract attention and draw suspicion on himself?

It is easily seen that none of the arguments advanced by K'ang Yu-wei bears the slightest scrutiny. His theory about Liu Hin as a forger of the Mao Shī (together with practically all the classics) is a hopeless failure. We could, indeed, be satisfied with the opinion of all the best scholars of China, who accept the early literary data about the Mao Shī as produced in the 2d c. B. C.

But the fact remains that the Mao Shī is connected with King Hien of Ho kien, just as the Chou li and the Tso chuan, and that it was championed by Liu Hin. Therefore, in order to be on the absolutely safe side and as a measure of extra precaution I will adduce some direct reasons why we can confidently accept it as a work of the 2d c. B. C.

1. Is it probable that a fairly extensive commentary of this kind was composed at so early a date? Certainly! We have positive proofs that Mao's commentary, in spite of its early appearance, was later than three other Shī commentaries:

The leading man of the s.-c. Lu school of the Shī king was Shen kung, and already the Shī ki of Sī-ma Ts'ien (Ju lin chuan) tells us how he was allowed to visit the Emperor Kao tsu followed by his disciples. The Han shu, Ch'u Yüan wang chuan, tells us that Shen kung became a *po shī* doctor of the Shī in the time of Wen ti (179—157 B. C.). According to the Ts'i lüe (Han shu, I wen chī) this Shen kung wrote a commentary *Shī ku hün*.

In the reign of Wen ti, the scholar Han Ying (Shī ki, Ju lin chuan), head of the Han school of the Shī king, became *po shī* doctor of the Shī and wrote two commentaries to it, Nei chuan and Wai chuan, of which the latter is still extant. Ts'i lüe says the Nei chuan had 4 kün and the Wai chuan 6 kün.

In the reign of King ti (156—141 B. C.), Yüan Ku, head of the Ts'i school of the Shī king, is said by the Shī ki (Ju lin chuan) to have been made a doctor of the Shī. The Ts'i lüe says he wrote a *chuan* commentary to it. By this time all these three versions (Lu, Han and Ts'i Shī) *li yü hūe* were established in the official schools.

We see that the critical work on the Shī had advanced quite far at the time when king Hien of Ho kien favoured the Mao version and tried — unsuccessfully — to get it established in the official schools. (This failure of his accounts for the fact that Si-ma Ts'ien mentions Shen kung, Han Ying and Yüan Ku but not Mao kung). Thus, there can be no doubt about the *possibility* of an extensive Mao commentary having existed in the middle of the 2 d c. B. C.

2. A more direct, intrinsic piece of evidence can be obtained by an examination of the connection, already touched upon, between Mao and Sün-tsi.

Mao Heng was evidently a strong partisan of Sün-tsi, for Sün-tsisms, if I may be allowed to use such a word, crop up frequently in the commentary. It is not necessary to give a complete list (which would be extensive), but further below I will give a few examples which are sufficient for our argumentation here.

The fact that the author of the so-called Mao commentary reveals himself as a faithful follower of Sün-tsi goes far to confirm the ancient tradition about Mao as a disciple (or, as I would prefer to think, a disciple's disciple) of this philosopher. But even if we leave this ancient tradition entirely out of consideration, the Sün-tsisms in the Mao commentary speak directly in favour of its composition in *early* Han time. This follows from the fate of Sün-tsi during the Han epoch.

In the 3 d c. B. C. Sün-tsi was the great scholar of the age, as described by Si-ma Ts'ien (in his biography of Sün-tsi), and the national learning was, so to speak, concentrated in his person as its chief representative and symbol. This position as the great, authoritative Confucian scholar Sün-tsi still maintained in the beginning of the Han era. It is very significant that various schools of the classics in those early days traced connections with Sün-tsi:

The Lu version of the Shī king: Shen kung, its principal exponent (cf. above) was, according to the Han shu, Ch'ü Yüan wang chuan, a pupil of Fou K'iu-po, and the same work expressly states (Ju lin chuan) that he got the Shī from that scholar; and the Yen t'ie lun (middle of 1st c. B. C.) states that Pao K'iu-tsi was a disciple (together with Li Si) of Sün-tsi (Fou and Pao are evidently but two ways of writing the same name; the K'iu 'hill' is the same in both names).

The Han version of the Shī king: The Han shī wai chuan of Han Ying constantly quotes Sün-tsi's work.

"Ch'un ts'iu with Tso commentary": we have already seen that the Pie lu of Liu Hsiang († 7 B. C.) (ap. Ch'un ts'iu Tso chuan cheng i by K'ung Ying-ta, comm. to Tu Yü's preface) expressly states that Chang Ts'ang got the Tso chuan from Sün-tsi.

Ch'un ts'iu with Ku-liang commentary: Shī ki (Ju lin chuan) says that Hia-k'iu Kiang kung obtained the Ku-liang ch'un ts'iu and the Shī from Shen kung, and Han shu, Ju lin chuan, says Shen kung got both the Shī and the Ch'un ts'iu from Fou K'iu-po (the above-mentioned disciple of Sün-tsi).

That these traditions, which bring the most varying schools back to Sün-tsi,

should all be true seems to me to be out of question; but they serve to show how great was the name and influence of Sün-tsi in early Han times. An interesting confirmation of this is given by Liu Hiang in his preface to Sün-tsi, where he states that "Tung Chung-shu, who was a great scholar, wrote a letter praising Sun K'ing (i. e. Sün-tsi)". Tung Chung-shu was, indeed, one of the great, leading scholars of King ti's (156—141) time.

But after that time Sün-tsi rapidly loses ground and is forgotten. How rapidly is well illustrated by various facts.

In the collections called *Li ki* (Rituals, *Li ki* and *Ta Tai li*) pieced together by Tai Sheng and Tai Tê in the middle of the 1st c. B. C., we find several extracts from the writings of Sün-tsi. In the *Li ki*, the whole chapter *San nien wen* is extracted from Sün-tsi, *Li lun p'ien*; parts of the chapters *Yüe ki* and *Hiang yin tsiu i* are taken from the *Yüe lun p'ien*. In the *Ta Tai li*, the chapter *Li san pen* comes from Sün-tsi, *Li lun p'ien*; *K'üan hüe p'ien* is taken directly from Sün-tsi; the chapter *Tseng tsi li shi* draws upon Sün-tsi's two chapters *Siu shen p'ien* and *Ta lüe p'ien*. These borrowed extracts might seem to show that Sün-tsi was still in high favour in the 1st. c. B. C.; but on the contrary! They show that he was by way of being forgotten. This follows from the very nature of the *Li ki* and *Ta Tai li*. They were not strictly systematic rituals; if they had been so, they might have borrowed chapters even from a Sün-tsi living through a flourishing school of followers. But these collections are highly heterogeneous, they contain purely philosophical chapters like *Ta hüe* and *Chung yung*, and what Tai Sheng and Tai Tê did was really *salvage work*. They brought together various Chou period documents, which were current among scholars of the Western Han era, and compiled these so as to save them from destruction and ultimate oblivion. If Sün-tsi's work had existed in a well-defined version, championed by a school of literati, his chapters would no more have been incorporated in the *Li ki* and *Ta Tai li* than were the *Lun yü*, the *Shu king* or the *Meng-tsi*.

This fact is corroborated by Liu Hiang's account of how he made his new edition of Sün-tsi. He says, in his preface, that out of 322 p'ien, by elimination of 290 which were duplicates and repetitions, he *established* (*ting cho*) 32 chapters. This plainly shows us that at Liu Hiang's time there was no fixed code of Sün-tsi's writings, sponsored by a learned school; he simply got hold of several copies of various chapters, and *established his own version*. Still more significant is Sün-tsi's fate after Liu Hiang. Whereas his great competitor for the favour of the literati, Mencius, obtained his commentators already in Eastern Han times, and quite a number — we possess fragments of commentaries to Mencius by Ch'eng Tseng, by Kao Yu, by Liu Hi and by Cheng Hüan (see the *Yü han shan fang tsi i shu*), all Eastern Han men, and his greatest commentator, Chao K'i, lived in the 2d c. A. D. — Sün-tsi was entirely neglected, and got his first commentator in Yang Liang as late as in T'ang times!

All this goes to show that the author of the Mao commentary, full of Sün-tsiisms,

must have lived at the *beginning* of the Han epoch, when Sün-tsi was still *en vogue*.

It might be objected, that since Liu Hiang made a new edition of Sün-tsi, it was but natural that his son, Liu Hin, studied it and drew upon it when "forging" a Mao chuan. But that is out of the question. We know from the Han shu biographies that Liu Hiang and Liu Hin were opponents in their Confucian ideas. Liu Hiang was a fervent adherent of the Ku-liang interpretation of Confucius' Ch'un ts'iu; indeed, this may have been the reason why he devoted himself to Sün-tsi, for Sün-tsi had been recommended by the great scholar Tung Chung-shu, a champion of the Kung-yang school (Ku-liang and Kung-yang are really very akin, both based on the principle of *pao-pien* "praise and censure"). In strong opposition to both Ku-liang and Kung-yang, and hence to Liu Hiang and Tung Chung-shu, stood Liu Hin, who sponsored the Tso chuan (forged or not forged by him). The fact that Tung Chung-shu and Liu Hiang favoured Sün-tsi was *eo ipso* a reason for Liu Hin to keep aloof from it; and with the great influence he obtained over the scholarly world in Eastern Han time, his attitude in this respect may have been one of the reasons why Sün-tsi was forgotten. Indeed, all the works which Liu Hin championed, the Tso chuan, the Chou li, the Ku wen Shang shu, and the Mao Shī, were treated and commented upon by his great followers Kia K'uei, Ma Jung and Cheng Hūan. We possess, complete or in fragments, commentaries by these three scholars to all four of these classics, except Kia K'uei to the Mao Shī; yet we know that he wrote upon it. If Liu Hin had taken up the Sün-tsi and become so enamoured by it that he had let it colour a "Mao commentary" of his own making, we could be perfectly sure that he and his followers would have commented upon Sün-tsi just as well as on the other works just mentioned. Sün-tsi's falling into oblivion in Eastern Han time shows us conclusively that he was *not* studied or appreciated by Liu Hin; and hence the strongly Sün-tsi-coloured Mao commentary could never have been written by Liu Hin; it is a work of *early* Han times.

3. K'ang Yu-wei's contention is that Liu Hin forged, not only the Mao commentary, but the entire Mao Shī, the Mao version of the Shī king text, which differs considerably, as we know, from the Lu, Han and Ts'i versions; his forging of the Mao commentary is to K'ang but a corollary. Without taking K'ang too seriously, we still have a considerable interest in examining whether the Mao text version can be attested earlier than Liu Hin; for it was, as we have seen, at Liu's time (during the reign of P'ing ti) that the Mao version was officially recognized in the imperial schools, and it was from that time onwards that it gained its ascendancy over the other versions. A clear testimony in favour of the Mao text version *earlier* than Liu Hin would definitely refute K'ang's speculations about both the Mao version and its commentary and furnish us with a good and final proof of the truth of the tradition which places the two Mao's editing activities in the 2d c. B. C.

For a testimony of this we can go to the Yen t'ie lun.

According to the Han shu, k. 66 (Kung-sun Ho etc., *tsan*) there was a great discussion at Court, in the period Shih-yüan (86—81 B. C.) (in the K'ü Ts'ien-ts'iu chuan it is put more precisely: 81 B. C.), between the wise men of the Empire about the monopoly of salt and iron. In the reign of emperor Süan (73—49 B. C.) the scholar Huan K'uan from Ju nan, as being a savant and an expert on Kung-yang chuan, was called to Court and made a *lang*. He worked up the materials of the aforesaid discussion into the treatise known as the Yen t'ie lun. This interesting work, which is still extant, is undoubtedly a genuine work of the middle of the 1st. c. B. C., written long before Liu Hin commenced his suspected activities in the Imperial library (When Liu started working with the Tso chuan, he took instructions from the Prime Minister, Tsê Fang-tsin; Tsê became prime minister in 15 B. C. and died as such *anno* 1 A. D.).

In the Yen t'ie lun there are frequent quotations from the Shih king (*Shih yüe* "the ode says"), and because of the importance of the Mao version question, I will make a list of them here. My quotations refer to a Ming edition (Hung-chi period 1488—1505) of the Yen t'ie lun, anastatic reprint in the Si pu ts'ung k'an. As I quote also Legge's edition of the Mao Shih, I give here the Chinese characters only *when there is a divergence* between Yen t'ie lun and Mao, or *when we know of another diverging version*.

- I. K. 1, p. 6: *Po shih ying chi, fu ts'ing chi*. Mao identical, Sung, Liang si, Legge p. 605.
- II. K. 1, p. 12: *Pi yü i ping, ts'ü yü chi suei* (此有滯穗), *i kua fu chi li*. Mao identical, Siao ya, Ta t'ien, L. p. 381. Li ki, Fang ki, quotes: *pi yü i ping, ts'ü yü pu lien* (此有不斂), *i kua fu chi li*. Yen t'ie lun follows the Mao version against the strongly diverging Ts'ü version.
- III. K. 1, p. 17: *Ai tsai wei yü, fei sien min shih ch'eng, fei ta yü shih king, wei er yen shih t'ung*. Mao id., Siao ya, Siao min, L. p. 332.
- IV. K. 3, p. 8: *Fang shu yüan lao, k'o chuang k'ü yü*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ts'ai k'ü, L. p. 287.
- V. K. 3, p. 9: *Su ye ki ming yü mi* (夙夜基命宥密). Mao id., Sung, Hao t'ien yü ch'eng ming, L. p. 575. Li ki, K'ung ts'ü hien kü, quotes 夙夜其命宥密 (Ts'ü version). Sin shu, Li jung p'ien, quotes 夙夜基命宥謚 (Lu version). Yen t'ie lun follows the Mao version against Ts'ü and Lu.
- VI. K. 4, p. 2: *Wu t'ien fu t'ien, wei yü kiao kiao* (無田甫田維秀騶騶). Mao id., Ts'ü feng, Fu t'ien, L. p. 157. Fa yen, Siu shen p'ien, quotes 無田圃田惟秀喬喬 Yen t'ie lun follows the Mao version against the Lu version, which deviates on 3 points.
- VII. K. 4, p. 10: *Chi k'ü luan tao, i k'ü k'ü mao*. Mao id., Siao ya, Sin nan shan, L. p. 375.

- VIII. K. 5, p. 5: *Tsi tsi to shī*. Mao id., Ts'ing miao, L. p. 569.
- IX. K. 5, p. 10: *Suei wu lao ch'eng jen, shang yu t'ien hing*. Mao id., Ta ya, Tang, L. p. 509.
- X. K. 5, p. 14: *Wei kien kūn tsī, yu sin ch'ung ch'ung* (憂心忡忡), *ki kien kūn tsī, wo sin tsé kiang*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ch'u kū, L. p. 264. Wang Yi, comm. to Ch'u ts'ī k. 2 quotes: *yu sin 慄慄* (Lu version).
- XI. K. 5, p. 18: *Sūn yū ch'u* (葛) *jao*. Mao id. (but for the short-form 芻), Ta ya, Pan, L. p. 501.
- XII. K. 6, p. 1: *Yu sin ju yen* (憂心如惔), *pu kan hi t'an*. Mao id., Siao ya, Tsie nan shan L. p. 310. Shuo wen quotes 如熒. The Han version *ap*. Lu Tê-ming, King tien shī wen *ad loc.*, had 如炎.
- XIII. K. 6, p. 4: *Chou er yū mao, siao er su t'ao, ki k'i ch'eng wu, k'i shī po po ku*. Mao id., Pin feng, Ts'ī lüe, L. p. 232.
- XIV. K. 6, p. 19: *Yu yen ts'i ts'i, hing yū k'i k'i* (有淪萋萋與雨祁祁). Mao id., Siao ya, Ta t'ien, L. p. 381. The Han shī *ap*. Han shī wai chuan 8 had: 有淪淪淪與雲祈祈. The Lu version, *ap*. Lü shī ch'un ts'iu, Wu pen p'ien, had 有暍淪淪與雲祁祁. The Ts'ī version as quoted by Han shu, Shī huò chī (*ap*. Lu Tê-ming, King tien shī wen, this ode; the present Han shu version has been corrected acc. to Mao) had: 有黠淪淪與雲祁祁. Shuo wen, Yü p'ien and Ch'u hūe ki 1 all quote 有淪淪淪.
- XV. K. 7, p. 5: *Si wo wang i, yang liu i i, wo kin lai sī, yū sūe fei fei, hing tao ch'ī ch'ī, tsai k'o tsai ki* (饑), *wo sin shang pei, mo chī wo ai*. Mao id. (but for the short-form 飢), Siao ya, Ts'ai wei, L. p. 261.
- XVI. K. 7, p. 6: *K'iu chī pu tē, wu mei sī fu*. Mao id., Chou nan, Kuan tsū, L. p. 1.
- XVII. K. 7, p. 6: *Kao shan yang chī, king hing hing chī*. Mao id., Siao ya, Kū hia, L. p. 393.
- XVIII. K. 7, p. 8: *Wang shī mi ku, pu neng i tsi shu, fu mu ho hu*. Mao id., T'ang feng, Pao yū, L. p. 183.
- XIX. K. 7, p. 8: *Nien pi kung jen* (恭人), *t'i ling ju yū, k'i pu huai kuei, wei ts'i tsuei ku*. Mao id. (but for the short-form 共人), Siao ya, Siao ming, L. p. 364.
- XX. K. 7, p. 9: *Tsūn fa er sī* (淺發爾私), Sung, I hi, L. p. 584. Mao has 駿發 etc., but Lu Tê-ming, King tien shī wen, says: 淺, also written 駿, which shows that his Mao version had 淺, id. with Yen t'ie lun.
- XXI. K. 8, p. 3: *Yung yung ming kan* (雍雍鳴駟), *hū jī shī tan*. Mao has 誰誰鳴鴈. Pei feng, P'ao yu k'u ye, L. p. 54. The word *yung* is exactly the same (differs only in the modern ductus of the char.), but *kan*: *yen* constitutes a real difference of version (Ch'en K'iao-tsung considers *kan* to be a Ts'ī reading).

- XXII. K. 8, p. 3: *Yin kien pu yūan, tsai Hia hou chī shī*. Mao id., Ta ya, Tang, L. p. 510.
- XXIII. K. 8, p. 5: *Yu sin ts'an ts'an, nien kuo chī wei nūe*. Mao id., Siao ya, Cheng yüe, L. p. 319.
- XXIV. K. 8, p. 10: *Kao er min jen* (誥爾民人), *kin er hou tu, yung kie pu yū*. Mao has 質爾人民, *kin er hou tu* etc., Ta ya, Yi, L. p. 513. The inverted *min jen*: *jen min* is a fault in the Mao text tradition: it is quoted *min-jen* by Kuo P'o in the Er ya commentary. But *kao* instead of Mao's *chī* is a real divergence of version. It is an influence from the Han version: 誥爾民人 (Han Shī wai chuan 6).
- XXV. K. 8, p. 13: *T'ou wo i t'ao, pao chī i li*. Mao id., Ta ya, Yi, L. p. 515.
- XXVI. K. 8, p. 13: *Cho pi hing lao, i pi chu tsī*. Mao id., Ta ya, Hiung cho, L. p. 489.
- XXVII. K. 9, p. 1: *Hao king pi yung* (辟雍), *tsi si tsī tung, tsī nan tsī pei, wu si pu fu*. Mao id. (but for 辟塵, where Yen t'ie lun has a short-form without the rad. 广), Ta ya, Wen wang yu sheng, L. p. 463.
- XXVIII. K. 9, p. 2: *Hien yūn k'ung ch'i wo shī yung kie* (獫狁孔熾, 我是用戒), Siao ya, Liu yüe, L. p. 281. Mao has: 獫狁孔熾, 我是用急. The variant in Hien-yūn is of no consequence whatever, the two forms being used *promiscuously*. The final word *kie:ki* 戒:急 would seem to constitute a difference of version. But this is not so. We can clearly see that the *ki* of the present Mao version is erroneous, and that the original Mao Shī could not have had it. The rhyme is 熾 Anc. Chin. *t'i*, derived from Archaic Chin. *t'iak*. The 戒 *kie* is Anc. *kai* <Arch. *kak*. But 急 was Anc. *kjap* — an impossible rhyme. The *ki* (*kjap*) here is easily accounted for: it is an Er ya gloss which has erroneously crept into the Text. (Er ya, Shī yen, says: 愾急也, evidently with this ode in view). This conclusion is definitely confirmed by the parallel passage of Siao ya, Ts'ai wei: 豈不日戒, 獫狁孔棘, where the Mao version sure enough has the correct 戒, not 急. So here the Yen t'ie lun helps us to confirm the original Mao version, which we could guess at already by aid of the rhyme and the Er ya gloss.
- XXIX. K. 9, p. 2: *Wu fu huang huang* (武夫潢潢), *king ying si fang*. Mao id. (but for the short-form 洗洗; observe that, in the seal script, 黃 had 光 as phonetic). Ta ya, Kiang Han, L. p. 552.
- XXX. K. 9, p. 7: *Huei ts'i Chung kuo, i suei si fang*. Mao id., Ta ya, Min lao, L. p. 495.
- XXXI. K. 9, p. 13: *Kiang fu jang jang* (降福穰穰), *kiang fu kien kien*. Mao id., Sung, Chī king, L. p. 579. Ts'ien fu lun, Cheng lie p'ien, quotes 降福穰穰 (a different sense). This is the Lu version, and is confirmed by Er ya, Shī hūn: 穰福也.

- XXXII. K. 9, p. 13: *Tsai k'i kan kuo, tsai kao kung shī, wo k'iu i tē, sī yū shī Hia*. Mao id., Sung, Shī mai, L. p. 578.
- XXXIII. K. 10, p. 1: *I an i yū* (宜犴宜獄), *wu su ch'u pu, tsī ho neng ku*. Siao ya, Siao yüan, L. p. 335. The actual Mao version has 宜岸宜獄. Han Shī ap. King tien shī wen had 犴 as Yen t'ie lun. Shuo wen under 豸 (var. 犴) also quotes this ode, and Sün-tsi (Yu tso p'ien) has the expression 獄犴不治, which might be an allusion to this ode. As 岸 here has the same reading and sense as 犴 (豸), it would seem that Mao had used 岸 as a *kia tsie*; but in fact 岸 may be a later corruption, for Cheng Hüan (the great representative of the Mao version) in his comm. to Chou li, Hia kuan, Shē jen, quotes 宜豸, which shows that his Mao text had 豸. So there is, in fact, accordance, here as well, between Mao and Yen t'ie lun.
- XXXIV. K. 10, p. 2: *Chou tao ju chī* (周道如砥), *k'i chī ju shī*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ta tung, L. p. 353. Mencius, Wan Chang p'ien, and Sū K'ie, comm. to Shuo wen, quote 周道如底. Here Yen t'ie lun follows Mao against a diverging version.
- XXXV. K. 10, p. 6: *Suei wo mei shou, kie i fan chī*. Mao id., Sung, Yung, L. p. 590.
- XXXVI. K. 10, p. 7: *Shē pi yu tsuei, ki fu k'i ku, jo ts'i wu tsuei, lun sū i pu* (淪胥以鋪 [the Ming print cited here has by misprint 骨 for 胥, here corrected after other editions]). The Han version ap. comm. to Hou Han shu, Ts'ai Yung chuan, had: 勳胥以痛. Ying Shao, comm. to Han shu, Ch'u Yüan wang chuan, quotes: 淪胥以鋪; this might be the Lu version (yet in the ode Siao min there is 淪胥以敗, so quoted by Liu Hiang [Lie nü chuan 2], which is the Lu version; so the 淪 here of Ying Shao's may be simply a *lapsus calami*). Han shu, Sū chuan, has the expression 薰胥以刑, which seems to be an allusion to this ode; in that case, the Ts'i version has had 薰胥.
- XXXVII. K. 10, p. 10: *Wei t'ien kai kao, pu kan pu kū, wei ti kai hou, pu kan pu tsi, ai kin chī jen, hu wei huei si* (胡爲虺蜥). Siao ya, Cheng yüe, L. p. 317. Mao id., but for the last word: 胡爲虺蜴. However, Lu Tê-ming, in his King tien shī wen, says the word can "also be written 蜥" and Tuan Yü-ts'ai remarks, that since Shuo wen has no 蜴, this is only a later variant of the former, which was originally the Mao version graph.
- XXXVIII. K. 10, p. 12: *Pu kan pao hu, pu kan p'ing ho*. Mao id., Siao ya, Siao min, L. p. 333.

Let us sum up. In 33 quotations Yen t'ie lun strictly follows Mao (but for a few short-forms which, of course, do not constitute a difference of version). In 3 more cases (XXVIII, XXXIII, XXXVII) there is only apparently a divergence.

in reality identity of version. Out of the 36 quotations, where there is thus a real agreement between Yen t'ie lun and Mao, we know, for no less than 9 cases (II, V, VI, X, XII, XIV, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXVI) that other Shī versions (Lu, Ts'i, Han) had deviating readings on various points. On the other hand, a real discrepancy is to be found between Yen t'ie lun and Mao in 2 quotations (XXI, XXIV). These two divergences from the Mao readings need not trouble us over much. That Huan K'uan, living at a time when the Han version still had a very strong hold, is influenced on an occasional point by its reading (誥) where Mao's (質) is far fetched and difficult, is no wonder. Nor is the difference 𪛗 : 鴈 (XXI) much to be wondered at: we cannot be sure that Cheng Hūan (on whom we nowadays base ourselves for the Mao version) has on *every* point correctly preserved the ancient graphs such as they were seen by Huan K'uan. Our inventory of the Shī quotations in the Yen t'ie lun makes it perfectly clear that Huan K'uan used the Mao version of the Shī king.¹⁾

It might be argued that out of our examples only the nine: II, V, VI, X, XII, XIV, XXXI, XXXIV, XXXVI, have any proof value at all, because it is only in these cases that we *know* of diverging versions. But that is certainly not sound reasoning. Indeed, we know very little of the Han, Lu and T'si versions: our only materials are isolated quotations in ancient authors, of whom we know that they followed one or other of these versions. When we come across such quotations, we find, in perhaps more than half of the cases, that there is a difference on some point or other from the Mao version. And since there is no reason to believe that the Han, Lu and Ts'i versions diverged from the Mao Shī exclusively in such clauses which happen to be quoted by ancient authors and not in other clauses, we have to turn the matter round and formulate our conclusion thus: If the Yen t'ie lun did not take its Shī quotations from the Mao version, we could never have found such a long series of examples (36 cases) in which there is a real identity between Yen t'ie lun and Mao Shī; we would, in such a case, unfailingly have had a number of divergencies in these 36 quotations, some of which are quite long and full of curious and rare words. An example like XIV is perfectly crushing evidence in this respect. And this conclusion is confirmed by the 9 cases in which, thanks to a lucky chance (stray quotations by ancient authors) we happen to know that the Han, Lu and T'si versions differed from the Mao Shī (and Yen t'ie lun).

It should be pointed out, finally, that the identity between the Yen t'ie lun quotations and the Mao version cannot be due to any *revision* in later times (the quotations having been altered so as to agree with the orthodox Mao version). Such a revision is very seldom carried out in the ancient authors. Not even in works like Mencius or Li ki, forming part of the sacred canon, are the Shī

¹⁾ The Chinese author who has written most extensively on the four Shī versions, Ch'en K'iao-tsung (Huang Ts'ing king kie sū pien k. 1118—1175) believes that the Yen t'ie lun has followed the Ts'i version; this, as we have seen, is not admissible.

quotations tampered with so as to bring them into accordance with the accepted Mao version. Still less has this been done to books like *Fa yen*, *Lie nü chuan*, *Shuo yüan* etc. Why should it have been done to a little known and little appreciated work like *Yen t'ie lun*? Besides, if such a revision had been carried through in later times, the cases XXI, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXIII, XXXVII would be quite unexplainable; they prove conclusively that we have the *Shi* quotations of the *Yen t'ie lun* in their original form. Here, then, we have a positive proof of the existence of the Mao *Shi* version half a century before Liu Hin.

From the *Yen t'ie lun*, let us go back two centuries and examine the *Sün-tsi*; this possesses, indeed, considerable interest, because tradition, as we have seen, says Mao acquired his version from *Sün-tsi*, just as the *Lu Shi* school (see p. 18 above) also by tradition is connected with this philosopher¹).

In *Sün-tsi* there are frequent quotations from the *Shi*, and I give them all here (except repetitions and quotations from lost odes). My references are to *küan* and page in the *Ku i ts'ung shu* edition (also by anastatic reprint in the *Si pu ts'ung k'an*).

- I. K. 1, p. 8: *Tsüe er kün tsī, wu heng an si, tsing kung er wei* (靖共爾位, hao shī cheng chī, shen chī t'ing chī, kie er king fu. Mao identical, Siao ya. Siao ming, Legge p. 366. The Han *Shi*, ap. Han *Shi wai chuan* 4, had 靜恭爾位 (Ibid. 7 cit. as Mao: later correction). The Lu version ap. Shuo yüan, Kuei tê p'ien, id. with *Sün* and Mao.
- II. K. 1, p. 11: *Shī kiu* (尸鳩) *tsai sang, k'i tsī ts'i hi, shu jen kün tsī, k'i i i hi, k'i i i hi, sin ju kie hi*. Ts'ao feng, *Shī kiu*, L. p. 222. Mao id. (now 鳩, but this is an enlarged character; Lu Tê-ming, *King tien shī wen*, adduces Mao version manuscripts with 尸).
- III. K. 1, p. 14: *Fei kiao fei shu* (匪交匪舒), *t'ien tsī so yū*. Siao ya, Ts'ai shu, L. p. 403. Mao has 彼交匪舒. The Han version, ap. Han *Shi wai chuan* 4, has the same reading as Mao.
- IV. K. 1, p. 16: *Hi hi tsī tsī* (滄滄營營), *i k'ung chī ai, mou chī k'i tsang, tsé kū shī wei, mou chī pu tsang, tsé kū shī i*. Mao id., Siao ya, Siao min L. p. 331. The Lu version ap. Han shu, Liu Hiang chuan, has 歛歛. The *Sün-tsi* reading, however, is not quite safe in this case: there is a *Sün* version which has 囋囋些些 (see the Wang Sien-k'ien ed.), so the *Ku i ts'ung shu* version might have been corrected after Mao.
- V. K. 1, p. 23: *Pu shī pu chī* (不識不知), *shu ti chī tsé*. Mao id., Ta ya, Huang i, L. p. 454. The Lu version, ap. Sin shu, Kün tao p'ien, and Huai nan-tsi, Ts'üan yen hün, has 弗識弗知.
- VI. K. 2, p. 2: *Wu k'i yu i, wei k'i shī i*. Mao id., Siao ya, Yü li, L. p. 270.

¹) Ch'en K'iao-tsung, because of this tradition, takes *Sün-tsi* as one of his sources for the *Lu Shi*; we shall see that this is by no means warranted.

- VII. K. 2, p. 3: *Wen wen kung jen, wei tē chī ki*. Mao id., Ta ya, Yi, L. p. 516. Lu version id., ap. Shuo yüan, Siu wen p'ien.
- VIII. K. 2, p. 4: *Tso chī tso chī, kün tsi i chī, yu chī yu chī, kün tsi yu chī*. Mao id., Siao ya, Shang shang chē hua, L. p. 384. Lu version id., ap. Shuo yüan, Siu wen p'ien.
- IX. K. 2, p. 23: *Shou siao kung ta kung, wei hia kuo tsün meng* (駿蒙). Sung, Ch'ang fa, L. p. 641. Mao has 駿龐. The Ts'i version, ap. Ta Tai li (Wei tsiang kün Wen tsi p'ien) has 恂蒙.
- X. K. 3, p. 5: *Yü sūe p'iao p'iao, yen jan yū siao* (雨雪瀟瀟宴然聿消), *mo k'en hia suei* (莫肯下隤), *shī kū lū kiao* (式居屢驕). Siao ya, Kūe kung, L. p. 406. Mao has: 雨雪瀟瀟, 見睨曰消, 莫肯下遺, 式居婁驕; no less than four discrepancies. The Lu version, ap. Han shu, Liu Hsiang chuan, had: 雨雪麋麋, 見睨聿消 — diverges from Sün-tsi just as badly as Mao. The Han version ap. King tien shī wen (first 4 words) and comm. to Wen süan, T'an shī fu (last four words) has: 瞻睨聿消, 莫肯下隤.
- XI. K. 3, p. 10: *Sū fang ki t'ung, t'ien tsi chī kung*. Mao id., Ta ya, Ch'ang wu, L. p. 559.
- XII. K. 3, p. 18: *Fei Shang ti pu shī, Yin pu yung kiu, suei wu lao ch'eng jen, shang yu t'ien hing, ts'eng shī mo t'ing, ta ming i k'ing*. Mao id., Ta ya, Tang, L. p. 509. Lu version, id., with Sün, in part preserved ap. Shuo yüan, Ch'en shu p'ien and Feng su t'ung i 5.
- XIII. K. 3, p. 23: *Mei tsi i jen, yin hou shun tē* (順德), *yung yen hiao si, chao tsai si fu*. Mao id., Ta ya, Hia wu, L. p. 459. Both of Sün-tsi and of Mao Shī there exist versions having 慎德. For the first half of the stanza we have id. (*shen tē*) in the Lu version ap. Huai-nan-tsi, Miu ch'eng hün.
- XIV. K. 4, p. 4: *Tsi si tsi tung* (自西自東), *tsi nan tsi pei, wu si pu fu* (無思不服). Mao id., Ta ya, Wen wang yu sheng, L. p. 463. The Han version, ap. Han Shī wai chuan 4, has 自東自西. The Ts'i version ap. Han shu (P'ing ti ki, Tsan) had 亡思不服. The Lu version ap. Shuo yüan, Siu wen p'ien, id. with Sün-tsi.
- XV. K. 4, p. 7: *Wei kuei, wei yū, tsē pu k'o tē, yu t'ien mien mu, shī jen wang ki, tso ts'i hao ko, i ki fan ts'ē*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ho jen si, L. p. 346.
- XVI. K. 4, p. 7: *Ho ming yū kiu kao* (鶴鳴于九臯), *sheng wen yū t'ien*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ho ming, L. p. 297. The Lu version, ap. Shī ki, Tung Fang-shuo chuan, and Lun heng, I tseng p'ien, had no 于 in the first line.
- XVII. K. 4, p. 9: *Min chī wu liang* (民之無良), *siang yūan i fang, shou tsūe pu jang*. Mao id., Siao ya, Kūe kung, L. p. 405. The Lu version ap. Shuo yüan, Kien pen p'ien, had 人而無良. (In Han shu, Liu Hsiang chuan, cit. id. with Mao: correction after Mao). In Hou Han shu, Chang ti ki, we find another version cited: 人之無良.

- XVIII. K. 4, p. 10: *P'ing p'ing tso yu* (平平左右), *i shī shuai ts'ung*. Mao id., Siao ya, Ts'ai shu, L. p. 403. The Han version *ap*. King tien shī wen has 便便左右.
- XIX. K. 4, p. 21: *Wei ts'i liang jen, fu k'iu fu ti, wei pi jen sin, shī ku shī fu, min chī t'an luan, ning wei t'u tu*. Mao id., Ta ya, Sang jou, L. p. 525.
- XX. K. 5, p. 11: *T'ien tso kao shan, T'ai wang huang chī, pi tso i, Wen wang k'ang chī*. Mao id., Sung, T'ien tso, L. p. 574.
- XXI. K. 6, p. 6: *Tiao cho k'i chang* (雕琢其章), *kin yū k'i siang, wei wei wo wang* (壺壺我王), *kang ki sī fang*. Ta ya, Yü p'u, L. p. 444. Mao has: 追琢其章, *kin yū k'i siang, 勉勉我王, kang ki sī fang*. The Lu version *ap*. Shuo yüan, Siu wen p'ien, and Chao K'i, Meng tsī chang kü 2, has exactly the reading of Sün tsī. The Han version *ap*. Han Shī wai chuan 5 has 壺壺文王.
- XXII. K. 6, p. 7: *Wo jen wo lien, wo kü wo niu, wo hing ki tsi, kai yün kwei tsai*. Mao id., Siao ya, Shu miao L. p. 413.
- XXIII. K. 6, p. 8: *Wu yen pu ch'ou* (無言不讎), *wu tê pu pao*. Mao id., Ta ya, Yi, L. p. 514. The Lu version, *ap*. Lie nü chuan 5, has: 無言不讎. The Han version *ap*. Han Shī wai chuan 10 has: 無言不酬. I wen lei tsü 31 quotes: 無言不訓. Mo-tsī, Kien ai p'ien, quotes: 無言而不讎, *wu tê er pu pao*. The Ts'i version, *ap*. Han shu, Wang Mang chuan, has: 亡 yen pu ch'ou, 亡 tê pu pao.
- XXIV. K. 6, p. 13: *Chung ku huang huang* (鐘鼓煌煌), *kuan k'ing ts'iang ts'iang* (管磬琤琤), *kiang fu jang jang* (降福穰穰), *kiang fu kien kien*. Sung, Chī king, L. p. 579. Mao has: 鐘鼓煌煌, 磬筦將將. (the rest as Sün-tsī); yet Yang Liang, comm. to Sün-tsī (T'ang time), says: 毛云煌煌琤琤, 皆聲和貌, so his Mao version must have had the same graphs as Sün-tsī. The Lu version, *ap*. Er ya, has 鐘鐘, and *ap*. Ts'ien fu lun, Cheng lie p'ien, 降福穰穰. The Han version *ap*. Ts'ao Chī, Wei Wen ti lei, has: *chung ku 鐘鐘*. The Ts'i version, *ap*. Han shu, Li yüe chī, has: 鐘鼓鐘鐘 (somewhat uncertain; Sün Yüe. Han ki 5, has 煌煌), 磬管鏘鏘, 降福穰穰. So none of the four versions followed Sün-tsī, unless Yang Liang's copy of Mao really did so.
- XXV. K. 6, p. 13: *T'ien fang tsien ts'o* (天方薦瘥), *sang luan hung to, min yen wu kia, ts'an mo cheng tsūe*. Mao id., Siao ya, Tsie nan shan, L. p. 310. The Ts'i version, *ap*. Shuo wen kie tsī, has: 天方薦嗟 (different sense).
- XXVI. K. 8, p. 6: *Kie jen wei fan, t'ai shī wei yūan*. Mao id., Ta ya, Pan. L. p. 503.
- XXVII. K. 8, p. 14: *Tsi tsi to shī, Wen wang i ning*. Mao id., Ta ya, Wen wang. L. p. 429. Lu version id. *ap*. Sin shu, Kün tao p'ien.

- XXVIII. K. 9, p. 8: *Pu kan pao hu, pu kan p'ing ho, jen ch'ī k'i i, mo ch'ī k'i t'o, chan chan king king, ju lin shen yūan, ju li po ping.* Mao id., Siao ya. Siao min, L. p. 333. The Lu version *ap.* Shuo yūan (King shen p'ien) id. for the last half of the stanza.
- XXIX. K. 9, p. 10: *Shou siao k'iu ta k'iu, wei hia kuo chuei liu* (綴旒). Mao id., Sung, Ch'ang fa, L. p. 641. (Yet the Mao version is not quite safe, for Cheng Hūan, comm. to Li ki, Kiao t'ê sheng, cites: 綴郵). The Han version, *ap.* Yü p'ien, has 綴流.
- XXX. K. 9, p. 8: *Pu tsien, pu tsei, sien pu wei tsê.* Mao id., Ta ya, Yi, L. p. 515.
- XXXI. K. 10, p. 4: *Wu wang tsai fa* (武王載發), *yu k'ien ping yūe, ju huo lie lie, tsê mo wo kan o* (敢遏). Sung, Ch'ang fa, L. p. 642. Mao has 武王載旆...敢曷. This 曷 is but a short-form of no significance. The 旆 in Mao is a later corruption of 伐: Cheng Hūan has had 伐, which is shown by his paraphrase of the passage, and so it is also quoted by the Shuo wen hi chuan (Sung time). The 旆, indeed, has been introduced from the Ts'i version, which occurs in Han shu, Hing fa ch'ī. The Han version, *ap.* Han Shī wai chuan 3 (*ap.* Wang Ying-lin, Shī k'ao; the present Han Shī wai chuan has been corrected into 旆), has: 武王載發, id. with Sün-tsī. Shuo wen and Yü p'ien cite 載坂.
- XXXII. K. 10, p. 14: *Shu jen kūn tsī, k'i i pu t'ê.* Mao id., Ts'ao feng, Shī kiu, L. p. 223. Lu version id. *ap.* Feng su t'ung i 4.
- XXXIII. K. 10, p. 20: *Wang yu yūn sai, Sū fang ki lai* (來). Mao id., Ta ya, Ch'ang wu, L. p. 559. The Ts'i version *ap.* Han shu, *Kung ch'en piao*, has 徠. The Lu version id. with Sün-tsī, *ap.* Sin sū (Tsa shī).
- XXXIV. K. 11, p. 14: *Tê yu ju mao, min sien k'o kū ch'ī.* Mao id., Ta ya, Cheng min, L. p. 544. Lu version id. *ap.* Ts'ien fu lun, Kiao tsi p'ien.
- XXXV. K. 12, p. 16: *Hia min ch'ī nie, fei kiang tsī t'ien, tsun* (噂) *ta pei tseng, ch'ī king yu jen.* Mao id., Siao ya, Shī yūe ch'ī kiao, L. p. 324. Tso chuan, Hi 15, and Shuo wen quote 傳.
- XXXVI. K. 13, p. 9: *Li i* (禮饑) *tsu tu, siao yū tsu huo.* Mao id., Siao ya, Ch'u ts'ī L. p. 371. The Han version has 禮義, Han Shī wai chuan 4 (*ap.* Wang Ying-lin, Shī k'ao; the modern text has 饑, correction after Mao).
- XXXVII. K. 13, p. 16: *Huai jou po shen, ki ho k'iao yūe* (喬嶽). Mao id., Sung, Shī mai, L. p. 577. The Lu version *ap.* Huai-nan-tsī, T'ai tsu hūn, had 嶽嶽.
- XXXVIII. K. 13, p. 23: *K'ai ti kūn tsī* (愷悌君子), *min ch'ī fu mu.* Ta ya, Hiung cho, L. p. 489. Mao has 豈弟君子; but Lu Tê-ming, King tien shī wen to the ode Han lu, states that some Mao version ms. had

- 愷悌, just like Sün-tsi. The Ts'i version, *ap.* Li ki, K'ung tsī hien kū, had 凱弟君子. The Lu version *ap.* Sin shu, Kün tao p'ien, id. with Sün.
- XXXIX. K. 15, p. 10: *Ts'ai ts'ai kūan er, pu ying k'ing k'uang* (頃筐), *tsūe wo huai jen, chī pi Chou hang.* Mao id., Chou nan, Kūan er, L. p. 8. The Ts'i version, *ap.* I lin, has 頃筐. The Lu version, *ap.* Huai-nan-tsi, Shu ch'en hūn, agrees with Sün.
- XL. K. 15, p. 19: *Ming ming tsai hia, ho ho tsai shang.* Mao id., Ta ya, Ta ming, L. p. 432.
- XLI. K. 16, p. 11: *Yü yü ang ang, ju kwei* (珪) *ju chang, ling wen ling wang, k'ai ti kūn tsī, sī fang wei kang.* Ta ya, K'üan o, L. p. 493. Mao has 圭, yet the T'ang stone classics (Mao version) had 珪 like Sün, Lu version *id.* *ap.* Chung lun, Siu pen p'ien. About *k'ai ti kūn tsī* see XXXVIII.
- XLII. K. 17, p. 17: *P'u t'ien chī hia* (普天之下), *mo fei wang t'u, shuai t'u chī pin, mo fei wang ch'en.* Siao ya, Pei shan, L. p. 360. Mao has: 溥天之下. All other versions had 普 like Sün-tsi: Han version *ap.* Han Shī wai chuan 1, Ts'i version *ap.* Pan Ku, Ming t'ang shī, Lu version *ap.* Sin shu, Hiung nu p'ien etc.
- XLIII. K. 17, p. 19: *Po ch'uan fei t'eng* (沸騰), *shan chung tsu* (卒) *peng, kao an wei ku, shen ku wei ling, ai ktn chī jen, hu ts'an mo cheng.* Siao ya, Shī yüe chī kiao, L. p. 322. Mao has 岑 for 卒, but Lu Tê-ming indicates an alternative Mao graph 卒. The Han version, *ap.* Yü p'ien, has: 沸騰.
- XLIV. K. 19, p. 1: *Tien chī tao chī, tsī kung chao chī.* Mao id., Ts'i feng, Tung fang wei ming, L. p. 154. The Lu version *id.* *ap.* Shuo yüan, Feng shī p'ien.
- XLV. K. 19, p. 1: *Wo ch'u wo yü* (我出我輿), *yü pi mu i, tsī t'ien tsī so, wei wo lai i.* Siao ya, Ch'u kü, L. p. 261. Mao has 我出我車. The Lu version probably had 輿 like Sün-tsi, for Shī ki, Hiung nu chuan, quotes another line of the ode thus: 出輿彭彭.
- XLVI. K. 19, p. 3: *Wu k'i chī i* (物其指矣), *wei k'i kie i.* Siao ya, Yü li, L. p. 270. Mao has 物其旨矣.
- XLVII. K. 19, p. 11: *Yin chī, shī chī, kiao chī, huei chī.* Mao id., Siao ya, Mien man, L. p. 418.
- XLVIII. K. 19, p. 12: *Wo yen wei fu, wu yung wei siao* (勿用爲笑), *sien min yu yen, hūn yü ch'u jao.* Ta ya, Pan, L. p. 500. Mao has: 勿以爲笑. The Lu version *id.* with Sün (part of the stanza only) *ap.* Lie nü chuan 1 and Shuo yüan, Tsan hien p'ien.
- XLIX. K. 19, p. 19: *Ju ts'ie ju ts'o* (如璫), *ju cho ju mo.* Wei feng, Ki yü, L. p. 91. Mao has 如璫. The Lu version, *ap.* Lie nü chuan 8 and

- Er ya, has 碰 like Mao, and not 璚 like Sün-tsi. The Han version *ap.* Han Shī wai chuan 2, on the contrary follows Sün: 璚.
- L. K. 19, p. 20: *Wen kung chao si, chī shī yu k'o.* Mao id., Sung, Na, L. p. 633. Lu version id., *ap.* Lie nū chuan 2.
- LI. K. 19, p. 20: *Hiao tsi pu kuei, yung si er lei.* Mao id., Ta ya, Ki tsuei, L. p. 477. The last four words id. in the Lu version, *ap.* Wang Yi, comm. to Ch'u ts'i, Kiu chang.
- LII. K. 19, p. 20: *Hing yū kua ts'i, chī yū hiung ti, i yū yū kia pang.* Mao id., Ta ya, Si chai, L. p. 447.
- LIIL. K. 19, p. 20: *P'eng yu yu shē, shē i wei i.* Mao id., Ta ya, Ki tsuei, L. p. 477.
- LIV. K. 19, p. 20: *Chou er yū mao, siao er so t'ao, ki k'i ch'eng wu, k'i shī po po ku.* Mao id., Pin feng, Ts'i yüe, L. p. 232.
- LV. K. 19, p. 23: *Wu tsiang ta kü, wei ch'en ming ming.* Mao id., Siao ya, Wu tsiang ta kü, L. p. 363.
- LVI. K. 20, p. 3: *Yu sin ts'iao ts'iao, yūn yū k'ün siao.* Mao id., Pei feng, Po chou, L. p. 39. Lu version id. *ap.* Liu Hiang, Shang feng shī.
- LVII. K. 20, p. 4: *Yin shī t'ai shī, wei Chou chī ti (維周之氏), p'ing kuo chī kūn (均), sī fang shī wei, t'ien tsi shī pi (天子是庠), pei mīn pu mī (卑民不迷).* Siao ya, Tsie nan shan, L. p. 311. Mao has (first half exactly like Sün): 天子是毗, 俾民不迷. The original Mao version, however, is uncertain, for Lu Tê-ming employed a ms. which had 卑 (just as in Sün) and he mentions 俾 as a variant; and about 毗 he says that Wang Su's copy had 埤 instead — thus similar to though not quite identical with Sün-tsi. The Lu version did not follow Sün-tsi, for we find, *ap.* Ts'ien fu lun, Chī sing shī p'ien: *Wei Chou chī 底*, and *ap.* Shuo yüan, Cheng li p'ien: 俾民不迷. Nor did the Han Shī, for Han Shī wai chuan 3 cites: 俾民不迷. The Ts'i version had: *p'ing kuo chī kūn 鈞*.
- LVIII. K. 20, p. 5: *Chou tao ju chī (周道如砥), k'i chī ju shī, kūn tsi so li, siao jen so shī, kūan yen ku chī (眷焉顧之), shan yen ch'u t'i.* Siao ya, Ta tung, L. p. 353. Mao has: 瞻言顧之. The kūan is no real divergence (Lu Tê-ming indicates a Mao variant 眷), but 言 is a real discrepancy. The Han version. *ap.* Han Shī wai chuan 3, follows Sün-tsi: 瞻焉顧之. The Lu version is uncertain: *ap.* Mencius, Wan Chang p'ien (L. p. 267) we find 周道如底; but Shuo yüan 4: 周道如砥, like Sün-tsi.
- LIX. K. 20, p. 5: *Chan pi jī yūe, yu yu wo sī (悠悠我思), tao chī yūn yūan, ho yūn neng lai.* Mao id., Pei feng, Hiung chī, L. p. 52. The Lu version, *ap.* Shuo yüan, Pien wu p'ien, had 遙遙我思. (a different sense).

LX. K. 20, p. 15: *Yen nien kūn tsī, wen k'i ju yū*. Mao id., Ts'in feng, Siao jung, L. p. 193.

LXI. K. 20, p. 30: *Ki ming ts'ie chē, i pao k'i shen*. Mao id., Ta ya, Cheng min, L. p. 543. Lu version id., ap. Lie nū chuan 2.

If we sum up the results of this long inquiry, we find:

13 stanzas where Mao deviates from Sün-tsi: III, IX, X, XXI, XXIV (?), XXXI, XLII, XLV, XLVI, XLVIII, XLIX, LVII, LVIII.

11 stanzas where Lu deviates from Sün-tsi: IV, V, X, XVI, XVII, XXIII, XXIV, XXXVII, XLIX, LVII, LIX.

12 stanzas where Han deviates from Sün-tsi: I, III, X, XIV, XVIII, XXI, XXIII, XXIV, XXIX, XXXVI, XLIII, LVII.

10 stanzas where Ts'i deviates from Sün-tsi: IX, XIV, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, LVII.

These figures in themselves, however, do no justice to Mao. For *all* the 61 quotations in Sün-tsi can be tested in Mao, whereas for the Lu, Han and Ts'i versions we know only of extracts (ancient quotations). Since Sün-tsi has been considered a representative of the Lu version, I have been careful to indicate, in the list above, which Sün-tsi quotations we know in Lu version extracts, and it is seen, that besides the 11 cases which differ from Sün-tsi, there are 22 cases (I, VII, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV, XXVII, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVIII, XXXIX, XLI, XLII, XLIV, XLVIII, L, LI, LVI, LVIII, LXI, out of which 5 are incomplete) which agree with Sün-tsi. Thus we obtain:

	Agreeing with Sün:	Differing from Sün
Mao	48	13
Lu	22	11

which means that the percentage of differences between Lu and Sün is nearly *twice as big* as that of the differences between Mao and Sün; in other words, that the Lu version deviates from Sün-tsi nearly twice as often as the Mao version. For the Han version the figures would be even more unfavourable. The Ts'i version we know little about, since the ancient quotations from it are few; yet no tradition attaches it to Sün-tsi.

The result of our inquiry is that out of the four Shī versions *Mao's is the one which keeps closest to Sün-tsi*. A significant illustration of this is that out of our 61 quotations in Sün-tsi there are 18 cases where Mao follows Sün-tsi, against other versions which deviate from him. Mao has not slavishly followed the Shi version championed by Sün-tsi; he must have had access to other versions as well, and on certain points preferred their readings. But on the whole it must be said that if any of the four schools in Western Han time approaches the great scholar and literary authority of the 3 d c. B. C., Sün-tsi, it certainly is *not* the Lu school, nor the Han school, but the Mao school.

The importance of this result can hardly be overrated. It has been a custom in certain circles of Chinese critics to look down, in a way, upon the Mao version, because it was later in being officially recognized than the other three versions, and to regret that the Mao version superseded those others which were really more ancient and venerable and probably better. This is entirely unwarranted; the comparative fidelity of Mao to Sün-tsi, who was, after all, the great champion of Confucian scholarship in the 3 d c. B. C., is a guarantee that the Mao version is conservative and reliable, and possibly more so than the other three. In any case, there is no reason whatever to consider it inferior.

To our present investigation about the Chou li and the Tso chuan this result is of considerable importance, as we shall see presently. With the Mao version is indissolubly tied up the Mao commentary, and the fact that the Mao version agrees best of all with Sün-tsi goes strongly to confirm the ancient tradition that Mao was a disciple (or, as I would have it, a disciple's disciple) of Sün-tsi. The doubts aroused by the fact that the Mao Shī was connected with king Hien of Ho kien and with Liu Hin can be laid aside: The early date of the Mao version, and hence of the Mao commentary, already confirmed by the Yen t'ie lun, is now proved beyond the possibility of a doubt. Indeed, from whatever side we tackle the Mao version problem, everything speaks in favour of its early existence, and the middle of the 2 d c. B. C. as the date of its definite redaction.

I have written so extensively about the Mao Shī, not so much because of the imputations against it made by K'ang Yu-wei, but because it is a work of paramount importance for text-critical problems. It was impossible to accept without examination the ancient tradition which places it in the 2 d c. B. C.; we had to go carefully into the matter and weigh all the evidence which goes to confirm this tradition. I think we may be authorized to state, now, that there are few ancient works which we can date so exactly and so confidently, all evidence pointing clearly in the same direction.

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To the theories about Liu Hin as the great forger and "Büchermacher", the faker of the Chou li and the Tso chuan, the Mao commentary is perfectly fatal. There are frequent and obvious references in it both to the Chou li and to the Tso chuan, and the best part of it is that these references are often formulated so as to reveal that the Chou li (or Tso chuan) text is *primary*, with the Mao commentary *secondary*, built on the former. I will give here some examples of such references¹⁾ (a complete list would be far too extensive). I will start, however, with a few references in the Mao commentary to Sün-tsi (cf. p. 18 above).

¹⁾ For the tracing of them, the learned work of Ch'en Huan: Shī Mao shī chuan su (Huang Ts'ing king kie sū pien) has been invaluable.

References to Sün-tsi in the Mao chuan.

- I. Pei men: 出自北門, 憂心殷殷, 終窶且貧, 莫知我艱. Mao: 窶者無禮, 貧者困於財. This refers to Sün-tsi, Ta lüe p'ien: 故民不困財, 貧窶者有所窶其手.
- II. T'u yüan: 我生之初, 尙無爲. Mao: 尙無成人爲 („not yet sophisticated“), taking 爲 in the sense of 僞. This is somewhat astonishing, and is explainable only as a Sün-tsism. It refers to Sün-tsi, Sing o p'ien: 人之性惡, 其善者僞也, 不可學, 不可事而在人者, 謂之性, 可學而能, 可事而成之在人者, 謂之僞.
- III. Ch'u kü: 我出我車于彼牧矣. Mao: 出車就馬於牧地. This refers to Sün-tsi, Ta lüe p'ien: 天子召諸侯, 諸侯輦輿就馬禮也, 詩曰, 我出我輿于彼牧矣. The term 就 Mao has adopted from his master, Sün.
- IV. Ho ming: 鶴鳴于九皋, 聲聞于野. Mao: 言身隱, 而名著也. The idea of interpreting the ode as symbolising the man who lives in retirement and unpretentiously, yet whose name is famous, Mao has got from Sün-tsi. Ju hiao p'ien: 君子務修其內, 而讓之於外, 務積德於身, 而處之以遵道, 如是則貴名起之如日月, 天下應之如雷霆, 故曰, 君子隱而顯, 微而明, 辭讓而勝, 詩曰: 鶴鳴于九皋, 聲聞于天, 此之謂也.
- V. Siao min: 不敢暴虎, 不敢馮河, 人知其一, 莫知其他. Mao: 一非也, 他不敬小人之危殆也. This interpretation: people know the one (the error of braving a tiger etc.), but they do not know the other (the risk of not being 敬 respectful), Mao has got from Sün-tsi, Ch'en tao p'ien. Sün, quoting these two lines of the ode, says: 仁者必敬人, 凡人非賢, 則案不肖也, 人賢而不敬, 則是禽獸也, 人不肖而不敬, 則是狎虎也, 禽獸則亂, 狎虎則危, 災及其身矣.
- VI. Ts'ai shu: 樂只君子, 萬禮攸同, 平平左右, 亦是率從. Mao: 平平, 辯治也. This is taken from Sün-tsi, Ju hiao p'ien: 分不亂於上, 能不窮於下, 治辨之極也, 詩曰, 平平左右, 亦是率從, 是言上下之交不相亂也.
- VII. Küe kung: 民之無良, 相怨一方. Mao: 比周而黨愈少, 鄙爭而名愈辱, 求安而身愈危. This refers to Sün-tsi, Ju hiao p'ien. Having described the modest *kün-tsi* in the words of example IV above, Sün continues by describing his opposite, the vulgar man: 鄙夫反是, 比周而譽愈少, 鄙爭而名愈辱, 煩勞以求安利, 其身愈危, 詩曰, 民之無良, 相怨一方, 此之謂也.
- VIII. Yü p'u: 追琢其章, 金玉其相. Mao: 追雕也. This gloss is due to the fact, that Sün-tsi (see p. 28 above) quotes this ode thus: 雕琢其章.
- IX. Yi: 溫溫恭人, 維德之基. Mao: 溫溫寬柔也. This is a curious gloss, and is due to Sün-tsi, Pu kou p'ien. Quoting this very ode, Sün says: 君子寬而不慢, 廉而不劓, 柔從而不流, 恭敬謹慎而容, 夫是之謂至文.

- X. P'an shuei: 角弓其鯨, 束矢其搜. Mao: 五十矢爲束. This refers to Sün-tsi, I ping p'ien: 負服矢五十个.

There are many more references to Sün-tsi in the Mao commentary; space does not permit of them all being cited.

References to Chou li in the Mao chuan.

- I. Han kuang: 之子于歸, 言秣其馬. Mao: 六尺以上曰馬. This refers to Chou li, Hia kuan, Sou jen: 八尺以上爲龍, 七尺以上爲騾, 六尺以上爲馬. To the ode Ting chī fang chung: 騾牝三千, Mao says: 馬七尺以上曰騾. This is taken from the same Chou li passage.
- II. Kien hi: 簡兮簡兮, 方將萬舞, 日之方中, 在前上處. The natural explanation of 方 is "just now", but Mao has quite another interpretation: 方, 四方也, 將, 行也, 以千羽萬舞, 用之宗廟山川, 故言於四方 教國子弟, 以日中爲期. What has caused Mao to take 方 as 四方 "the four quarters", speaking of 山川 mountains and rivers, of which nothing is said in the ode? And, on the other hand, to bring in the "teaching" of the young noblemen, which is not mentioned either in the ode? The explanation is that Mao has had the Chou li before his eyes, where both these details occur together in one paragraph: Ch'un kuan, Ta sī yüe: 建國之學政, 而令國之子弟焉, 以樂舞教國子舞雲門, 大卷, 大咸, 大磬, 大夏, 大濩, 大武 舞大夏以祭山川 舞大武以享先祖. Mao's dependence on Chou li is obvious here.
- III. Tsing nü: 靜女其嬈, 貽我彤管 etc. Legge: "How handsome is the retiring girl! She presented me a red tube. Bright is the red tube — I delighted in the beauty of the girl". To this Mao has a strange explanation: 既有靜德, 又有美色, 又能遺我以古人之法, 可以配人君也, 古者后夫人必有女史彤管之法." Besides that she has a pure virtue, she also has beautiful looks, and she can commit to us the rules of ancient men; she is fit to be a prince's consort. Anciently the prince's consort always had a female scribe and the rules of the red tube". Then he goes on to state that the nü shī scribe kept a diary of the visits of the harem ladies to the prince, and ruled them by aid of the regulations of the red tube. In order to come to this curious interpretation, Mao must have seen and combined one Chou li and one Tso chuan passage. Nü shī in this sense occurs only in Chou li, T'ien kuan, Nü shī: 女史掌王后之禮, 職掌內治之貳, 以詔后治內政, 逆內宮, 書內令. The nü shī manages the rites of the queen. She has access to the copies of the harem regulations and thus guides the queen in the governing of the harem. She controls the harem palace rooms. She registers the harem orders. Mao must have seen this Chou li passage. But how did he get the idea of introducing the female scribe in *this ode*, and explaining the t'ung kuan as the red tube of the nü

shi? He must have read Tso, Ting 9 th year: "Si Shuan of Cheng put to death Teng Si, but proceeded to employ his penal statutes written on bamboo (竹刑). The superior man will say that in this matter Tsi-jan (i. e. Si Shuan) did not act in a good and generous way. If there is one who can do his country signal services, it is allowable to overlook his wrong-doings. The three stanzas of the Tsing nü have the *t'ung kuan* red tube for their subject". In other words: written regulations (statutes like those of Teng Si) are of such importance that they form the subject of an ode in the sacred Shī — the ode here treated by Mao! Mao must have read this Tso passage, where this ode and its "red tube" is quoted in connection with written statutes, and therefore he has interpreted the *t'ung kuan* in this peculiar way; and then he has combined it with the Chou li passage about the female scribe. We have here a clear proof that Mao is secondary to both Chou li and Tso chuan and builds on them.

- IV. Kün tsi kie lao: 君子偕老, 副笄六珈. Mao: 副者, 后夫人之首飾, 編髮爲之, 笄衡笄也. This refers to Chou li, T'ien kuan, Twei shi: 追師掌王后之首服, 爲副編次追衡笄. That Mao really builds on Chou li here is shown by the second stanza, where a new reference occurs to the same section: Shī: 玼兮玼兮, 其之翟也. Mao: 揄翟, 闕翟, 羽飾衣也. This refers to T'ien kuan, Nei sī fu: 內司服掌王后之六服褱衣, 揄翟 (var. 狄), 闕翟, 鞠衣 etc.
- V. Kan mao: 子子干旄, 在浚之都. Mao: 鳥隼曰旄. This is taken directly from Ch'un kuan, Sī ch'ang: 鳥隼爲旄. That this is so is confirmed by the next stanza: 子子干旌, 在浚之城, where Mao says: 析羽爲旌. The same Chou li paragraph says: 析羽爲旌.
- VI. Shī jen: 翟茀以朝. Mao: 翟翟車也, 夫人以翟羽飾車. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Kin kü: 王后之五路, 重翟, 厭翟, 安車, 翟車, 連車.
- VII. Tung fang wei ming: 折柳樊圃, 狂夫瞿瞿. Mao: 古者有挈壺氏, 以水分日夜, 以告時於朝. This refers to Hia kuan, K'ie hu shī: 挈壺氏..... 凡軍事, 縣壺以序聚櫜, 凡喪, 縣壺以代哭者, 皆以水火守之, 分以日夜.
- VIII. Wu i. First stanza: 豈曰無衣七兮. Mao: 侯伯之禮七命, 冕服七章. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Tien ming: 侯伯七命, 其國家室車旗衣服禮儀皆以七爲節. And to Ts'iu kuan, Ta hing jen: 諸侯之禮..... 冕服七章. Second stanza: 豈曰無衣六兮. Mao: 天子之卿六命, 車旗, 衣服以六爲節. This refers to the same Tien ming paragraph: 王之卿六命..... 其國家宮室車旗衣服亦如之. Mao has worked up two paragraphs from different sections of the Chou li into one gloss: it is clear that Mao is secondary, Chou li primary.
- IX. Sī t'ie: 奉時辰牡, 辰牡孔碩. Mao: 冬獻狼, 夏獻麋, 春秋獻鹿豕羣獸. This refers to T'ien kuan, Shou jen: 冬獻狼, 夏獻麋, 春秋獻獸.

- X. Chung nan: 君子至止, 黻衣纁裳. Mao: 黑與青謂之黻, 五色備謂之纁. This refers to K'ao kung ki: 黻纁之事 黑與青謂之黻, 五采備謂之纁.
- XI. Wu i: 修我戈矛, 與子同仇. Mao: 戈長六尺六寸, 矛長二丈. This refers to K'ao kung ki, Lu jen: 戈秘六尺有六寸 矛常有四尺. Mao has paraphrased the latter sentence so as to use the more familiar measure, the 丈. A 丈 was 10 尺, hence 2 丈 = 20 尺. A 常 was 16 尺 and 16 + 4 尺 = 20 尺.
- XII. Ts'i yüe: 言私其縱, 獻斂于公. Mao: 大獸公之, 小獸私之. This refers to Hia kuan, Ta sī ma: 大獸公之, 小獸私之.
- XIII. Ch'u kü: 設此旂矣. Mao: 龜蛇曰旂. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Si ch'ang 龜蛇爲旂.
- XIV. Ch'u kü: 執訊獲醜. Mao: 執, 辭也. Mao's ordinary gloss to 執 (e. g. in the ode Cheng yüe) is 問. The peculiar 辭 refers to Ts'iu kuan, Siao Si k'ou: 以五刑聽萬民之獄訟, 附于刑, 用情訊之 以五聲聽獄訟, 求民情, 一曰辭聽 (examination of their words), 二曰色聽 etc.
- XV. Liu yüe: 載是常服. Mao: 日月爲常 (the flag with a sun and a moon is called a *ch'ang*), refers to Ch'un kuan, Si ch'ang: 日月爲常.
- XVI. Liu yüe: 比物四驪, 閑之維則. Mao: 物, 毛物也. This refers to Hia kuan, Hiao jen: 凡大祭祀, 朝覲會同, 毛馬而頒之 凡軍事, 物馬而頒之.
- XVII. Liu yüe: 戎車既安, 如輕如軒. Mao: 輕, 摯也. 摯 in this sense is very rare, and must refer to K'ao kung ki, Chou jen: 是故大車平地, 既節軒摯之任, 輶及其登陸, 不伏其輶, 必縱其牛.
- XVIII. Ts'ai k'i: 魚服鉤膺鞶革. Mao: 鉤膺, 樊纓也. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Kin kü: 金路鉤樊纓.
- XIX. Kü kung: 赤芾金鳥. 會同有釋. Mao: 時見曰會, 殷見曰同. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Ta tsung po: 時見曰會, 殷見曰同.
- XX. K'iao yen: 君子屢盟, 亂是用長. Mao: 凡國有疑會同, 則用盟而相要. This refers to Ts'iu kuan, Si meng: 凡邦國有疑會同, 則掌其盟約之載及其禮儀.
- XXI. Ts'ai shu: 玄衮及黼. Mao: 白與黑, 謂之黼. This refers to K'ao kung ki: 黻纁之事 白與黑, 謂之黼. We have seen (X above) that under the ode Chung man Mao has quoted another line of the same Chou li paragraph. That a later forger of the Chou li should have pieced together his paragraph by means of short extracts from different chapters of the Mao commentary is, of course, excluded. Mao has had the K'ao kung ki, and extracted the separate lines of the paragraph as they were needed for explaining the words occurring in different odes.

- XXII. Mien: 鼙鼓弗勝. Mao: 鼙,大鼓也,長一丈二尺. This refers to K'ao kung ki: 鞀人爲鼙鼓,長尋有四尺. 鼙 and 鞀 are two graphs for the same word. Here, as in XI above, Mao has recalculated the figures, given in 尋 *sūn* by the K'ao kung ki, in the more familiar 丈 *chang*. $1\text{ sūn} (= 8\text{ 尺}) + 4\text{ 尺} = 12\text{ 尺}$; $1\text{ chang} (10\text{ 尺}) + 2\text{ 尺} = 12\text{ 尺}$.
- XXIII. Sheng min: 載燔載烈. Mao: 嘗之日,涖卜來歲之芟,獮之日,涖卜來歲之戒,社之日,涖卜來歲之稼,所以興來而繼往也. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Si shi: 嘗之日,涖卜來歲之芟,獮之日,涖卜來歲之戒,社之日,涖卜來歲之稼.
- XXIV. Hing wei: 敦弓既堅,四鍤既鈞,金矢既均. Mao: 鍤矢參亭已均. This refers to K'ao kung ki: 矢人爲矢,鍤矢參分,弗矢參分,一在前,二在後.
- XXV. Kung Liu: 執豕于牢,配之用匏. Mao: 執豕于牢,新國殺禮也 (for a newly constituted state, the [guest] rites are reduced). This refers to Ts'iu kuan, Chang k'o: 凡禮賓客,國新,殺禮.
- XXVI. Yün han: 靡神不宗. Mao: 國有凶荒,則索鬼神而祭之 (If there is famine in the country, one searches out [forgotten] spirits and sacrifices to them). This refers to Ti kuan, Ta si t'u: 以荒政十有二聚萬民:……十有一曰索鬼神.
- XXVII. Kiung: 薄言駟者,有騶有皇,有驪有黃,以車彭彭. Mao: 諸侯六閑馬四種. This refers to Hia kuan, Hiao jen: 天子十有二閑馬六種,邦國六閑馬四種,家四閑馬二種.
- XXVIII. Pi kung: 毛炰載羹. Mao: 毛炰,豚也. This refers to Ti kuan, Fang jen: 歌舞牲及毛炮之豚. That this is so is confirmed by the next gloss which also builds on the Chou li: Mao: 載,肉也,羹,大羹鉶羹也. This refers to T'ien kuan, P'eng jen: 祭祀六大羹鉶羹. Here again the Mao chuan is obviously secondary to the Chou li, Mao having worked two extracts from different Chou li sections into one gloss.

References to Tso chuan in the Mao chuan.

- I. K'uan er: 嗟我懷人,寘彼周行, Mao: 懷思寘置行列也,思君子官賢人置周之列位. This refers to Tso chuan, Siang 15th year: 君子謂楚於是乎能官人,官人國之急也,能官人,則民無覲心,詩曰,嗟我懷人,寘彼周行,能官人也. Mao's curious interpretation of 周行 can only be explained by the fact that he has had this Tso text before his eyes, which is moreover revealed by the wording (*kuan jen, lie*).
- II. T'u tsü: First stanza: 赳赳武夫,公侯干城. Mao 干,扞也. This refers to Tso, Ch'eng 12th year: 此公侯所以扞城其民也,故詩曰,赳赳武夫,公侯干城. Third stanza: 赳赳武夫,公侯腹心. Mao: 可以制斷公侯腹心. This refers to the same Tso passage, which continues: 故詩曰,赳赳武夫,公侯

腹心天下有道，則公侯能爲民干城而制其腹心。 In the first stanza, Mao has taken 扞 directly, from Tso, in the third stanza, the 制. The Tso passage expressly comments this ode, and the appearance of these two Tso chuan terms in the Mao commentary clearly shows that Mao builds on Tso.

- III. Ts'ai fan: 于以采蘋，于沼于沚。 Mao: 公侯夫人執蘋菜以助祭，神饗德與信，不求備焉，沼沚谿澗之草猶可以薦，王后則苾菜也。 This refers to Tso, Yin 3rd year: 苟有明信，澗谿沼沚之毛，蘋蘩，藻蘩之菜，筐筥錡釜之器，潢汙行潦之水，可薦於鬼神。 Tso has had in mind not only this ode, but also the one treated in the next example.
- IV. Ts'ai p'in: 于以采蘋，南澗之濱，于以采藻，于彼行潦，于以奠之，宗室牖下。 Mao: 奠，置也，宗室，大宗之廟也。 In Tso, Siang 28th year, we find: 濟濟之阿，行潦之蘋藻，實諸宗室。 That Mao has read this and correctly recognized the allusion to this ode follows from the fact that he has adopted Tso's paraphrase: *tien, ch'i ye*.
- V. Kao yang: 退食自公，委蛇委蛇。 Mao: 委蛇，行可以從迹也。 This refers to Tso, Siang 7th year: 詩曰，退食自公，委蛇委蛇，謂從者也。
- VI. Tsing nü: see Chou li III above.
- VII. Er ts'i ch'eng chou: As an explanation of this ode, Mao tells a long story about the princes Shou and Shuo of Wei and their tragic death. It is a paraphrased rendering of the story told in Tso, Huan 16th year.
- VIII. Meng: 乘彼境垣，以望復關。 Mao: 復關，君子所近也“where the gentleman is near (approaches)”. This is a very strange definition, and the choice of the curious word 近 can be explained only by Mao's having read Tso, Siang 14th and 26th years, from which we learn that in Wei (Meng is one of the Wei odes) there was a barrier gate called 近關“the near gate”. Here again, the Mao text is clearly secondary, the Tso text primary.
- IX. K'ien shang: First stanza: 子不我思，豈無他人。 Second stanza: 子不我思，豈無他士。 This latter Mao comments: 士事也。 This is very unexpected, with a view to the parallelism with 人 of the first stanza. It is, however, a reference to Tso, Chao 16th year. The ode K'ien shang has been sung, and a gentleman says, with reference to the second stanza: 善哉子之言是不有是事其能終乎。 Hence the 事 of Mao's.
- X. Sh'i shu: 碩鼠碩鼠，無食我苗。 Mao: 苗，嘉穀也。 This refers to Tso, Chuang 7th year. The Ch'un ts'iu has said: 秋大水，無麥苗， and Tso says: 不害嘉穀也。
- XI. Si mu: 王事靡盬，我心傷悲。 Mao: 文王率諸侯撫叛國而朝聘乎紂。 This refers to Tso, Siang 4th year: 文王帥殷之叛國以事紂。 That this is so is proved, not only by the wording, but also by the fact that the same year (Siang 4) is quoted by Mao for explaining the next ode (Huang huang ch'ê hua), thus for two consecutive odes in the Sh'i, see next example.

- XII. Huang huang chē hua. All through this ode, Mao builds on the Tso chuan. Second stanza: 載馳載驅, 周爰咨諏; third stanza: 周爰咨謀; fourth stanza: 周爰咨度; fifth stanza: 周爰咨詢. Mao second st.: 忠信爲周, 訪問於善爲咨, 咨事爲諏; third st.: 咨事之難易爲謀; fourth st.: 咨禮儀所宜爲度; fifth st.: 親戚之謀爲詢. All this refers to Tso, Siang 4th year: 皇皇者華, 君教使臣曰, 必咨於周, 臣聞之, 訪問於善爲咨, 咨親爲詢, 咨禮爲度, 咨事爲諏, 咨難爲謀.
- XIII. Ch'u kü: 豈不懷歸, 畏此簡書. Mao: 簡書, 戒命也, 鄰國有急, 以簡書相告, 則奔命救之. This refers to Tso, Min 1st year: 狄人伐邢, 管敬仲言於齊侯曰, 戎狄豺狼, 不可厭也, 諸夏親暱, 不可弃也, 宴安酖毒, 不可懷也, 詩云豈不懷歸, 畏此簡書, 簡書同惡相恤之謂, 請救邢以從簡書, 齊人救邢.
- XIV. Liao siao: 既見君子, 爲龍爲光. Mao: 龍, 寵也. This refers to Tso, Chao 12th year: 宋華定來聘, 通嗣君也, 享之, 爲賦蓼蕭, 弗知, 又不答賦, 昭子曰, 宴語之不懷, 寵光之不宜 etc. In taking 龍 = 寵 Mao builds on Tso, and Tso's texts is clearly primary.
- XV. T'ung kung: 我有嘉賓, 中心貺之. Mao: 貺, 賜也. This refers to Tso, Wen 4th year. An emissary has been received and feasted and the prince has sung this ode, the T'ung kung. The guest answers: 諸侯敵王所愾, 而獻其功, 王於是乎賜之彤弓一, 彤矢百 etc. Hence the 賜 of Mao's.
- XVI. Si kan: 載衣之裳, 載弄之璋. Mao: 裳, 下之飾也. This is taken from Tso, Chao 12th year: 裳, 下之飾也.
- XVII. Si yüe: 四月維夏, 六月徂暑. Mao: 徂, 往也, 六月火星中暑盛而往. This refers to Tso, Chao 3rd year: 譬如火焉, 火中寒暑, 乃退, 此其極也, 能無退乎.
- XVIII. Siao ming: 嗟爾君子, 無恒安處, 靖共爾位正直是與. Mao: 正直爲正, 能正人之曲曰直. This refers to Tso, Siang 7th year, where this ode is quoted with the following explanation: 恤民爲德, 正直爲正, 正曲爲直.
- XIX. Shang shang chē hua: 左之左之, 君子宜之, 右之右之, 君子有之, 惟其有之, 是以似之. Mao: 似, 嗣也. This is a very strange gloss, and can be explained only as due to an influence from Tso, Siang 3rd year: 祁奚請老, 晉侯問嗣 K'i Hi retiring on the ground of age, the prince of Tsin asked about his 嗣 successor. K'i recommends certain persons, and Tso continues: 君子謂祁奚能舉善矣 唯善故能舉其類, 詩云惟其有之, 是以似之. Hence the 嗣 of Mao's.
- XX. Tu jen shi: 出言有章行歸于周萬民所望. Mao: 周, 忠信也. This, again, is a somewhat curious gloss, to define 周 by 忠信. It goes back to Tso, Siang 14th year: 君子謂子囊忠, 君薨不忘增其名, 將死不忘衛社稷, 可以謂忠乎, 忠, 民之望也, 詩曰, 行歸于周, 萬民所望, 忠也.

- XXI. Ta ming: 厥德不目,以受方國. Mao: 目達也. This gloss seems far-fetched. It is due to Tso, Chao 26th years. This ode is quoted there and explained thus: 國君無達德,方國將至.
- XXII. Han lu: 清酒既載,騂牲既備. Mao: 言年豐畜碩也. This refers to Tso, Huan 6th year: 是以聖王先成民,而後致力於神,故率牲以告曰,博碩肥腍,謂民力普存也,謂其畜之碩大蕃滋也, 奉盛以告曰,絜粢豐盛,謂其三時不害而民和年豐也.
- XXIII. Huang i: 維此文王,帝度其心,貉其德音,其德克明,克明克類,可長可君. Mao: 心能制義曰度,貉靜也,德正應和曰貉,照臨四方曰明,類善也,勤施無私曰類,教誨不倦曰長,賞慶刑威曰君. This refers to Tso, Chao 28th years, where this ode is quoted and the following explanation is given: 心能制義曰度,德正應和曰莫,照鄰四方曰明,勤施無私曰類,教誨不倦曰長,賞慶刑威曰君.
- XXIV. Tang: 爾德不明,以無陪無卿. Mao: 無陪貳也,無卿士也. This refers to Tso, Chao 32nd year: 物生有兩,有三,有五,有陪貳,故天有三辰,地有五行,體有左右,各有妃耦,王有公,諸侯有卿,皆有貳也.
- XXV. Sang jou: 誰能執熱,逝不以濯. Mao: 濯所以救熱也,禮所以救亂也. This refers to Tso, Siang 31th year, where this ode is quoted and commented thus: 禮之於政,如熱之有濯也.
- XXVI. Cheng min: 袞職有闕,維仲山甫補之. Mao: 仲山甫補之,善補過也. To take 補 in the sense of 補過 is very farfetched; it is explainable only as a reference to Tso, Süan 2nd year: 袞職有闕,惟仲山甫補之,能補過也,君能補過,袞不廢矣.
- XXVII. Cho: 於鑠王師,遵養時晦. Mao: 晦,昧也. This refers to Tso, Süan 12th year: 勺曰,於鑠王師,遵養時晦,耆昧也.
- XXVIII. Yin wu: 不僭不濫,不敢怠遑. Mao: 不僭不濫,賞不僭,刑不濫也. This refers to Tso, Siang 26th year: 善爲國者,賞不僭,刑不濫,賞僭則懼及淫人,刑濫則懼及善人 商頌有之曰,不僭不濫,不敢怠皇.

I have given here 28 examples where Mao builds on the Chou li, and 28 examples where he builds on the Tso chuan. It would be easy to double the number of these examples, but it is not necessary. Those adduced here suffice to show, without the possibility of a doubt, that Mao, when writing his commentary, has had access to the Chou li and Tso chuan texts.

A final word about these references in the Mao commentary to the Chou li and the Tso chuan. An inveterate sceptic might ask: even allowing that the Mao commentary on the whole goes back to the middle of the 2d c. B. C., how can we know that these special points in it, which are references to Chou li and Tso chuan, are not interpolations, by the hand of Liu Hin, introduced in order to give credit to his forgeries?

We have seen that the Mao commentary brings us decisive proofs of the existence of both the Chou li and the Tso chuan long before Liu Hin's time; the Mao Shī text itself comes to our further aid in regard to the Tso chuan: it confirms that Liu cannot have been its author and it helps us to understand better the exact rôle he has played in the text history of the Tso work.

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- I. Yin 3d year: 百祿是荷. Sung, Hūan niao. Mao has 百祿是何.
- II. Chuang 6th year: 本枝百世. Ta ya, Wen wang. Mao has 本支百世.
- III. Hi 22d year, and Siang 29th year: 協比其鄰. Siao ya, Cheng yüe. Mao has 洽比其鄰.
- IV. Hi 24th year: 外禦其侮. Siao ya, Ch'ang ti. Mao has 外禦其務.
- V. Wen 4th year: 嘉樂. Ta ya, Kia lo. Mao has 假樂.
- VI. Wen 10th year: 剛亦不吐, 柔亦不茹. Ta ya, Cheng min. Mao has the inverse order: jou i pu ju, kang i pu t'u.
- VII. Süan 12th year: 鋪時釋思. Sung, Mai. Mao has 敷時釋思.
- VIII. Süan 15th year: 陳錫載周. Ta ya, Wen wang. Mao has 陳錫哉周.
- IX. Ch'eng 2nd year: 布政優優. Sung, Ch'ang fa. Mao has 敷政優優.
- X. Ch'eng 8th year: 猶之未遠, 是用大閒. Ta ya, Pan. Mao has: 是用大諫.
- XI. Ch'eng 13th year: 或膳或炙. Ta ya, Hing wei. Mao has 或燔或炙.
- XII. Siang 2nd year: 降福孔偕. Sung, Feng nien. Mao has 降福孔皆.
- XIII. Siang 11th year: 樂旨君子, 福祿攸同, 便蕃左右, 亦是帥從. Siao ya, Ts'ai shu. Mao has: 樂只君子, 萬福攸同, 平平左右, 亦是率從.
- XIV. Siang 24th year: 樂旨君子. Siao ya, Nan shan yu t'ai. Mao has 樂只君子.
- XV. Siang 27th year: 鶉之賁賁. Yung feng. Mao has 鶉之奔奔.
- XVI. Siang 27th year: 彼己之子. Cheng feng, Kao k'iu. Mao has 彼其之子.
- XVII. Siang 29th year: 不皇啓處 (ap. T'ang stone classics and Sung Ch'un-hua ed.; the present ed. of Tso is corrected after Mao), Siao ya, Si ma. Mao has 不遑啓處.
- XVIII. Chao 6th year: 民胥效矣. Siao ya, Kūe kung. Mao has 民胥傲矣.
- XIX. Chao 7th year: 君子是則是效. Siao ya, Lu ming. Mao has 君子是則是傲.
- XX. Chao 7th year: 鷦鷯在原. Siao ya, Ch'ang ti. Mao has 脊令在原.
- XXI. Chao 7th year: 彼日而食. Siao ya, Shī yüe chī kiao. Mao has 此日而食.
- XXII. Chao 7th year: 普天之下. Siao ya, Pei shan. Mao has 溥天之下.
- XXIII. Chao 7th year: 或樵悴事國. Siao ya, Pei shan. Mao has 或盡瘁事國.
- XXIV. Chao 20th year: 毋從詭隨 慘不畏明. Ta ya, Min lao. Mao has 無縱詭隨 愐不畏明.
- XXV. Chao 20th year: 黷嘏無言. Sung, Lie tsu. Mao has 黷假無言.
- XXVI. Chao 28th year: 唯此文王, 帝度其心, 莫其德音, 王此大國. Ta ya, Huang i. Mao has: 維此王季, 帝度其心, 貺其德音, 王此大邦.

XXVII. Chao 32nd year: 不敢戲豫 不敢馳驅. Ta ya, Pan. Mao has 無敢 in both places.

XXVIII. Ting 9th year: 竿旄. Yung feng, Kan mao. Mao has 干旄.

XXIX. Ai 5th year: 不敢怠皇. Sung, Yin wu. Mao has 不敢怠逸.

These quotations tell us all we want to know about Liu Hin and the Tso chuan:

1. Liu Hin, the strong partisan of the Mao Shī, can never have *written* the Tso chuan, which deviates badly from the Mao Shī.

2. Liu Hin, who devoted himself to and edited the Tso chuan, treated it with a perfect philological tact and scrupulous care; though he was a champion of the Mao Shī, he did *not* alter the Shī quotations in the Tso chuan so as to agree with the Mao version. It is a matter of indifference to us, whether this was because he did not want to alter them, being too loyal a philologist, or he was unable to alter them, having a flourishing school of literati, versed in the Tso work, to consider. The fact remains that the Tso chuan text has passed through Liu Hin's hands without being tampered with — and, of course, without being added to: if Liu could not or would not make some alterations like changing 荷 into 何, 不 into 無, 國 into 邦, still less could or would he make such grave alterations by inventing and adding new sections.

THE ER YA.

The date and origin of the Er ya, the oldest Chinese dictionary, is as doubtful as those of most other ancient Chinese texts. Western sinologues have seldom shown any interest in the matter; Those who have said anything about it generally admit it to be pre-Ts'in (Pelliot, T'oung-pao 1930 p.375). The opinions of Chinese scholars have varied considerably. The one most generally accepted is that given by Chang Yi (3 d.c. A.D.) in a memorial when presenting the Kuang ya: Chou Kung wrote one chapter (generally believed to be the *Shī ku*), and then, "according to some", it was added to by Confucius, was enlarged by Tsī-hia, supplemented by Tung Chung-shu and revised by Liang Wen from the P'ei district.

Without entering too deeply into the problems of the Er ya, we shall have to settle some fundamental points. Let us start by determining a *terminus ante quem*. Liu Hin's Ts'i lüe (= Han shu, I wen chī) mentions an Er ya in 3 kūan containing 20 p'ien (chapters). The present Er ya text, still divided into 3 kūan, contains only 19 chapters. That it is essentially the same as the work mentioned by Liu Hin we can confidently believe. There are quotations from Er ya in ancient commentaries which are not to be found in the present work (for examples see Shao Tsin-han, Er ya cheng i, Huang Ts'ing king kie K. 504, p. 2 b), and these show that some part of the original work is now lost: the difference in size (20 : 19 p'ien),

therefore, need not trouble us. The identity is, indeed, confirmed by the prominent rôle played by the Er ya, such as we now know it, in the learned literature of the 1st and 2nd c. A. D. It has been largely drawn upon by the Fang yen and the Shuo wen kie tsī, and various commentators of the Eastern Han epoch make an extensive use of it: Ma Jung to Shu king and Li ki, Tu Tsī-ch'un and Cheng Chung to Chou li, Kia K'uei and Fu K'ien to Tso chuan, Cheng Hūan to various classics, Chao K'i to Mencius etc. Mostly the glosses from Er ya are borrowed without any acknowledgement of the source, yet sometimes the name Er ya is also mentioned, so frequently in the Shuo wen. Pan Ku († 92 A. D.) in his Po hu t'ung, Sün shou p'ien (last clause) says: 中國垢濁發源東注海,其功著大,故稱瀆也,爾雅云(Er ya says): 江河淮濟爲四瀆也. And in the present Er ya (*Shī shuei*) we find: 江河淮濟爲四瀆,四瀆者,發源注海者也. Similarly, Ying Shao (2d c. A. D.) in his Feng su t'ung i (Shan tsē p'ien) says: 謹按,爾雅:丘之絕高大者爲京. And in our present Er ya (*Shī k'iu*) we find: 絕高爲之京. There can, consequently, be no doubt whatever that a work called Er ya, and essentially identical with the Er ya we possess, existed at the very beginning of the Christian era.

This work was already at that time considered an authoritative guide to the classics. The contemporary testimonies to this fact are many. Yang Hiung (ap. Si king tsa ki) says: "It [the Er ya] is a series of annotations made by the companions of (Tsī-) yu and (Tsī-) hia, disciples of Confucius, in order to explain the *liu i* polite literature". Wang Ch'ung (1st c. A. D.) (*Shī ying p'ien*) says: "The book Er ya is glosses to the *wu king* five canonical books". In the Han shu, P'ing ti ki, it is narrated: "In the 5th year *yüan-shi* (= 5 A. D.) one called to Court all those in the Empire who were thoroughly conversant with the restored classics, the ancient records, astronomy, chronology, standard instruments of music, philology, chronicles, medicine and prognostics, botanics (drugs), and those who taught the *wu king* five canonical books, the Lun yü, the Hiao king and the Er ya". The Er ya being here placed at the side of the most sacred canonical books shows how venerated it must have been already at the very beginning of our era. Pan Ku wrote this record only a few decades afterwards, and moreover he probably based himself on the *verba formalia* of the very edict calling all the said scholars to Court, so there is not the slightest reason to doubt his testimony: in 5 A. D. the Er ya was already a canonical book, which explains its dominating position among the scholars already of the 1st c. A. D.

So far all is plain sailing. Much more difficult is to determine how high we have to place the Er ya. There is an anecdote in the Ta Tai li (Siao pien p'ien), which is often made use of to prove the extreme age of the text. The duke asked Confucius about *siao pien* "small distinctions" (terminology), and Confucius answers *inter alia*: "if you study antiquity by aid of Er ya, it is sufficient for the distinction of words (*p'ien yen*)". There is no reason to doubt the pre-Han character of this narrative, and it may very well prove that the term Er ya ("keeping close to what is fine and correct") i. e. "Sprachrichtigkeit" is quite ancient; it is even possible

that written handbooks of "Sprachrichtigkeit" were in early use. But about the present work it proves practically nothing.

This follows from an examination of the text itself. The *Er ya* is not a dictionary *in abstracto*, it is a collection of *direct glosses to concrete passages in ancient texts*¹⁾: the *Shī king* takes the largest part, then comes the *Shu king* etc. Learned Chinese philologists, from Kuo P'o down to Shao Tsin-han and Ho I-hang, have with great acumen identified the various passages alluded to in the *Er ya*. It turns out that there are frequent glosses to Kuo yü, Lie-tsī, Chuang-tsī, Chan kuo ts'ê, Ch'u ts'ī, Lü shī ch'un ts'iu etc., and therefore considerable parts at least cannot be older than the 3d c. B. C. The glosses to *Shī king* and *Shu king* *may* be older but it is by no means sure that they really are so; I rather believe not (see p. 48 below).

Are there, then, no glosses directly revealing a later origin than the 3rd c.? Yes, there are; but very few. Shao Tsin-han points out (*op. cit.* k. 1, p. 1 b) that some entries in the geographical section betray their Han date. I believe, myself, that other isolated glosses *may* also refer to early Han authors. There is, e. g., *Shī yen*: 耳, 貳也. This may refer to Si-ma Ts'ien's famous letter (報任安書) inserted in the *Wen sūan* (僕又耳之蠶室). The character, as far as I know, is not found in earlier documents; yet negative evidence like this is always risky. The principal fact remains: a very great majority of *Er ya* glosses can be identified as referring to definite passages in pre-Han literature.

This, of course, does not prove that the *Er ya* was really compiled in pre-Han time. It might be the work of Han scholars, who glossed only the ancient literature, leaving out contemporary writers as being less venerable.

If the appearance of *Er ya* glosses in the writings of early commentators of the Western Han epoch could prove the *Er ya* to be *earlier* than these writers, all would be simple. Such definitions, common to *Er ya* and early commentators (both Ts'in and early Han) are quite frequent. We find them already in Kung-yang chuan and Ku-liang chuan; in King Fang's commentary to the *I king*; in Mao's commentary to the *Shī king*. Even the examples from Li Sī's Ts'ang hie pien which we happen to know through ancient quotations, are often identical with *Er ya* glosses. The *Shī ki* is highly interesting in this respect. In rendering the *Shu king*, Si-ma Ts'ien has largely replaced the most difficult words by simpler ones: and these are mostly *identical with the Er ya glosses to the Shu*. When the Yao tien has: 協和萬邦, Si-ma says: 合和萬國, cf. *Er ya*, *Shī ku*: 協, 合也; for 欽若昊天 Si-ma has: 敬順昊天; *Er ya*, *Shī ku*: 欽, 敬也, *Shī yen*: 若, 順也. There are dozens of examples like this, passages where Si-ma has replaced the *Shu* word by a simpler word identical with the gloss word of the *Er ya*.

This would, at first sight, seem to prove that the *Er ya* *was in existence* before Si-ma, and that he has drawn upon it. But it is hardly likely that Si-ma himself

¹⁾ Apart from a number of general and common words occurring in many books.

has carried out this puzzle play of picking out, from the Er ya, the various glosses from different sections which refer to the Shu. Si-ma based himself, for the Shu, partly on Fu Sheng, partly on K'ung An-kuo. Fu Sheng's work, the Shang shu ta chuan, is not a verbatim commentary. We know, however, that K'ung An-kuo's commentary (now lost; the "K'ung An-kuo" commentary in the Shī san king chu su is, as everybody knows, a forgery) was such a philological commentary, and it seems clear that K'ung has commented the Shu king by explanations of difficult words by simpler one's, e. g. 欽 = 敬. Si-ma Ts'ien, in order to make his text easy, has preferred K'ung's gloss words to the difficult ones of the text.

The questions we want answered is precisely this: if all these ancient commentators (Li Si, Ku-liang, Kung-yang, King Fang, Mao, K'ung An-kuo) have glosses in common with the Er ya, is it because they have all drawn upon the Er ya; or is it because the Er ya is but a compilation, made in the 1st c. B. C. (i. e. after K'ung An-kuo and Si-ma Ts'ien and the two Mao's) by the method of extracting the word glosses of these commentaries and piecing them together in rows, as in the present Er ya?

The former view is the one most commonly adopted. The best recent expounders of the Shī and the Shu (Ma Juei-ch'en, Ch'en Huan, Kiang Sheng, Sun Sing-yen) all consider Er ya as primary, the other glosses as secondary, drawn from the Er ya. But this view has not been universally accepted. Already the great Chu Hi (cf. King i k'ao, k. 237, p. 3) sweepingly said: „The Er ya was made by taking the *chuan chu* commentaries; but people of later ages use Er ya for confirming the commentaries!" In favour of such a view may seem to speak the fact that Mao in commenting upon the Shī in some cases has identical glosses with the Er ya, in other cases not, though the allusion to the Shī in these latter Er ya glosses is just as obvious as in the former (cf. p. 48 below). This might be interpreted *either* so that the Er ya has been made entirely after the time of Mao (many of his word glosses having then been incorporated), *or* so that it was considerably enlarged after his time. Such conclusions, however, are not allowable. Mao's attitude can have quite other reasons to which I shall revert presently.

There are three arguments against the idea of the Er ya being a compilation of the 1st c. B. C., made up from entries out of earlier commentaries:

1. Could the Er ya have obtained such a strong position as to be practically a canonical book and strongly normative for the learned world in the year 5 A. D., if it were only a compilation from certain commentaries, the most important of which, Mao and K'ung An-kuo, were then little more than a century old; commentaries which, moreover, were not at all universally recognized but had to contend with those of other strong schools (Lu, Ts'i, Han for the Shī, Hia-hou and Ou-yang for the Shu)? That is very unlikely. The Er ya glosses must have been *known* to be older than those commentaries by the scholars at the end of Western Han time.

2. A great percentage of the entries in the *Er ya* refer to passages in works to which there were no commentaries in Western Han time. If thus certain glosses are the fruits of direct text readings and not second-hand extracts from commentaries, why should the glosses to the most important texts (*Shu*, *Shī*, *Yi*) be such second-hand extracts only? *Chu Hi*'s idea suffers from the serious difficulty that it allows of an explanation of certain entries only in the *Er ya*, and not of the whole work. Therefore it is not very plausible.

3. There is some evidence of the existence of the *Er ya* prior to and contemporaneously with *Mao* and *K'ung An-kuo*. *Chao K'i*, the great commentator of *Mencius* (2nd c. A. D.), in his preface to *Mencius* tells us that the Emperor *Wen* (179—157 B. C.) nominated doctors (*po shī*) for *Lun yü*, *Hiao king*, *Mencius* and *Er ya*. And *Wei Hung* (first half of 1st c. A. D.) in his 漢舊儀 *Han kiu i* (K. 3, p. 3 in the *Wu ying tien tsü chen pan* ed.) says that "When the Emperor *Wu* (140—87 B. C.) first nominated doctors, he chose men who had studied thoroughly, cultivated a correct deportment, had a wide knowledge, had many talents, and knew the ancient script and the *Er ya*".

These testimonies are far from negligible. It is true that the absence of any records of the *Er ya* in *Shī ki* is a serious point (though *Sī-ma* paid little attention to literary data); but *Chao K'i* was a very learned and widely read man who had access to many documents now unfortunately lost; and *Wei Hung*, one of the best scholars at the beginning of our era, lived less than a century after the death of the Emperor *Wu*, and his information is therefore worth a good deal.

The reasons adduced here (1—3) thus seem to me to decide the question in favour of the old orthodox view: the *Er ya* is primary, the Western Han commentaries which have glosses in common with it, have drawn upon it for those glosses. This means that the *Er ya* is a pre-Han work.

On the other hand I do not think that it is very ancient, even in its *Shī king* and *Shu king* parts. My reason for this belief is the attitude of *Mao*, already touched upon. *Mao* sometimes refrains from drawing upon the *Er ya*, even when the *Er ya* gloss clearly refers to the *Shī*. There is, for instance, the last clause of the ode *Tsai shan* (*Sung*, *Legge* p. 603): 振古如茲. *Mao* says, 振自也 (= "from"). *Cheng Hūan*, on the contrary, has introduced here the *Er ya* gloss: *Shī yen*: 振古也 *chen* = "old". *Mao* must have seen that the *Er ya* entry alluded to this line, yet he preferred taking the 振 as meaning "from". This does not mean that the *Er ya* gloss 振 = 古 is younger than *Mao*¹⁾, but simply that *Mao* had no such veneration for the *Er ya* that he felt himself bound to follow it in every instance. Indeed, the *Er ya* to a large extent is based on other

¹⁾ If the *Er ya* had been compiled from commentaries, *inter alia* from *Mao*, we could be sure that this gloss of *Mao*'s: 振, 自也, would have been inserted somewhere in the *Er ya* (just as so many other glosses are common to *Er ya* and *Mao*); the absence of this gloss — and similar cases — confirms that the *Er ya* was not made after and by aid of *Mao*.

Shī versions than the one followed by Mao (Er ya has especially numerous Lu version readings). Mao did *not* favour these other versions, although he must have had some of their readings thrust upon him by his study of the Er ya. He held to his own version which essentially goes back to the one sponsored by Sün tsī (as shown above). This reveals that in the eyes of Mao, a very good scholar of the 2nd c. B. C., the other Shī versions and the Er ya were not of such a high antiquity as he was crushed by their authority. They were, in his eyes, no more ancient than the version he preferred, i. e. the 3rd c. B. C., and he lived near enough to that time to know something about the origin of the various versions. If we know in advance, that a great part of the Er ya (referring to various works of the 3rd c.) cannot be older than the 3rd c. B. C., this attitude of Mao's goes far to show that the entire work is not older (apart, possibly, from isolated earlier word explanations which may have been incorporated) than that century. Indeed, the 3rd c. B. C. was a time of great lexicographical activity. Li Sī wrote his 倉頡篇 Ts'ang Hie p'ien, 趙高 Chao Kao wrote the 爰歷篇 Yüan li p'ien, and 胡毋敬 Hu-mu King wrote the 博學篇 Po hüe p'ien. It seems to me to be very probable that the Er ya is a lexicographical work of approximately the same age and conceived by the same impetus of philological interest as that which called into being those other dictionaries.

To sum up: the Er ya is necessarily a work of the pre-Christian era. It may be a juxtaposition of commentary glosses from the 3rd and 2nd centuries B. C., made in the 1st c. B. C., but that is very unlikely. Strong reasons speak for its being a work of the 3rd c. B. C. (a pre-Han work) upon which these various commentaries have drawn. On the whole it is probably not older than the 3rd c., the major part of its glosses must reasonably date from the 3rd c. B. C., possibly (though not probably) from the 2nd c. B. C.

For our present investigation relating to the Chou li and the Tso chuan, Er ya is of considerable interest. If some glosses in it can be proved to refer to these texts, this would testify to their early existence. We certainly cannot expect *many* such proving examples: that follows from the nature of the work. Say that a gloss of a rare word really was made with a view to a Chou li passage: if the same word occurs even in *one* more text of ancient time, e. g. the Kuo yü, then this entry to us is devoid of proof value, for *we* cannot know for sure that it does not originally allude to this Kuo yü passage. If an Er ya gloss shall have any binding force as a proof we shall have to demand, therefore, *either* that it deals with a word which occurs exclusively in Chou li or Tso chuan; *or* that the wording of the gloss is such as to show clearly that it refers to Chou li or Tso chuan. It might seem hopeless to look for such proofs; yet, thanks to the many curious words in these texts, we can gather a fair number of proof examples. The list I give here is certainly far from complete — yet it is sufficient for the purpose of the present investigation.

References to Chou li in the Er ya.

- I. Shī ku: 𤇗, 竭也. This refers to K'ao kung ki, Mang shī: 清其灰而𤇗之.
- II. Shī ku: 刷, 清也. This refers to T'ien kuan, Ling jen: 夏頒冰掌事秋刷.
- III. Shī ku: 覩, 視也. This refers to Ch'un kuan, Ta tsung po: 殷覩曰視. The word is written 類 in some Er ya versions and in other places in the Chou li (e.g. Ts'iu kuan, Ta hing jen), but this is a variation of no consequence, the word being the same, and there being no possibility of determining which variant was preferred (in the Chou li and the Er ya) in Han time. The word also occurs in Tso chuan, Chao 5th year, and in the Kuo yü (Ts'i yü), but the latter example is uncertain, for Sung editions have 眺 instead. In any case, the formulation of the gloss clearly indicates it as referring to the Chou li passage quoted.
- IV. Shī yen: 劑, 翦, 齊也. This refers to T'ien kuan, Siao tsai: 聽賣買以質劑.
- V. Shī yen: 廡, 興也. This refers to T'ien kuan, Sī k'iu: 大喪廡裘; to Ch'un kuan, T'ai shī: 帥警而廡 and other passages in the Chou li.
- VI. Shī k'i: 羽本, 謂之翮, 一羽謂之箴, 十羽謂之搏, 百羽謂之緼. This refers to Ti kuan, Yü jen: 羽人掌以時徵羽翮之政, 凡受羽十羽爲箴, 百羽爲搏, 十搏爲緼. The 翮 explained as 羽本 directly applies to this unique word in the Chou li. The two *shen* (箴 and 箴, anc. -*ʃm*) are evidently but variant graphs for one and the same word. The copyists have corrupted both the Er ya and the Chou li texts in some easily discernible and explainable details: In the Er ya text — 'one' is meaningless, as it is a question of *bundles* of feathers (as tribute); it should be 10 = *shen*, 100 = *chuan*, 1000 = *kun*. Moreover the 搏 *chuan* in the middle clause has erroneously got the rad. 糸 instead of 手 by influence of the following 緼. In the Chou li text, the copyists have wrongly written the last word: 緼 with the phonetic 專 instead of 軍 (緼) through influence of the 搏 of the middle clause. These copying errors are obvious and easily accounted for. The Er ya clearly builds on the Chou li for the whole of this paragraph.
- VII. Shī k'i: 絕澤, 謂之鉄. This refers to K'ao kung ki, Tu shī: 鳧氏爲鍾, 兩樂, 謂之鉄.
- VIII. Shī k'i: 餅金, 謂之鈇. This refers to Ts'iu kuan, Chī kin: 祭五帝即供金鈇. So quoted by Kuo P'o. The current version has: 旅于上帝, 則共其金版. That the two forms of *pan* are only graphic variants, and that the Er ya gloss really refers to the Chou li is confirmed by Cheng Hsian's commentary to the Chī kin paragraph: 餅金謂之版.
- IX. Shī k'i: 三染, 謂之纁. Although *hün* is not a very rare word, this clearly refers to K'ao kung ki, Chung shī: 三入爲纁.

- X. Shī k'i: 肉謂之醢, 有骨者謂之醢. This refers to T'ien kuan, Hai jen: 朝事之豆, 其實韭菹醢醢, 昌本麋醢, 青菹鹿醢, 茆菹麋醢. It is true that the word 醢 occurs also in the I li, but that it is really this Chou li passage which is alluded to follows from the fact that the T'ien kuan, Hai jen, is referred to also in the next two Er ya glosses.
- XI. Shī ts'ao: 簋, 籩萌. This refers to T'ien kuan, Hai jen: 簋菹屬醢. So quoted by Kuo P'o. The current edition (that of Cheng Hūan) has 落菹 which is a mere graphic variant, the reading and sense being the same.
- XII. Shī yū: 蜺廬. This refers to T'ien kuan, Hai jen: 脾折廬醢.
- XIII. Shī mu: 杻榱 refers to K'ao kung ki, Kung jen: 凡取幹之道柘爲上, 榱次之.
- XIV. Shī ts'ao: 藋. This refers to Ts'iu kuan, Kuo shī: 焚牡藋以灰洒之.

References to Tso chuan in the Er ya.

- I. Shī ku: 娠, 動也. This refers to Tso, Ai 1st year: 后緡方娠. This is confirmed by the Shuo wen, which quoting this Tso chuan passage says: 女妊身動也, 春秋傳曰, 后緡方娠.
- II. Shī ku: 犯奢果穀剋 勝也. This refers to Tso, Sūan 2nd year: 戎昭果穀以聽之, 之謂禮, 殺敵爲果, 致果爲穀, 易之戰也. That this Er ya gloss refers to this Tso passage was recognised already by Kuo P'o.
- III. Shī yen: 邕載也. This refers to Tso, Siang 25th year: 陳侯免擁社 (the graph 擁 is only a modern enlarged form of the 邕 in Er ya).
- IV. Shī yen: 眚重也. This refers to Tso, Yin 3rd year: 愾而能眚者鮮矣.
- V. Shī yen: 茅明也. This is a highly astonishing gloss and can be understood only when we know that it refers to Tso, Sūan 12th year: 前茅慮無. The 茅 has here the sense of "make clear" = "a signal". Already Tu Yü 3rd c. A. D.) and Kuo P'o recognised that this Er ya entry was a gloss to this Tso passage.
- VI. Shī kung: 六達, 謂之莊 ("where six roads meet is called *chuang*"). This refers to Tso, Siang 28th year: 得慶氏之木百車於莊.
- VII. Shī k'i: 背剋木, 謂之剋, 玉謂之雕. This refers to Tso, Yin 11th year: 山有木, 工則剋之. So it is quoted by Kuo P'o. The current edition has: 度之, which is merely an abbreviated graph.
- VIII. Shī t'ien: 玄枵虛也. This refers to Tso, Siang 28th year: 歲在星紀而淫於玄枵 宋鄭必饑, 玄枵, 虛中也, 枵耗名也, 土虛而民耗, 不饑

何爲. This is confirmed by another astronomical gloss which follows immediately after, and also has the Tso chuan in view:

- IX. Shī t'ien: 娵訾之口, 營室東壁也. This refers to Tso, Siang 30th year: 及其亡也, 歲在娵訾之口. And to this Tu Yü (3rd c. A.D.) remarks: 娵訾, 營室之東壁, thus showing that he has considered the Er ya entry to be a gloss to the Tso chuan passage. Some Er ya versions have the variant 娵訾.
- X. Shī mu: 槐小葉曰榦, 大而榦楸, 小而榦榦. This refers to Tso, Siang 2nd year: 穆姜使擇美榦. So quoted by Kuo P'o. The current edition has 美榦. That these two graphic variants were used promiscuously follows from the fact that K'ung Ying-ta in his Ch'un ts'iu Tso chuan cheng i quotes Er ya: 槐小葉曰榦.

To these remarkable proofs, furnished by the Er ya, for the pre-Han existence of Chou li (with the K'ao kung ki) and the Tso chuan there is one objection that will naturally be made: how can we know that these entries in the Er ya are not interpolations, made by the "forger" Liu Hin, in order to give credit to his creations and get them accepted as ancient writings? It is important to show that such an interpretation is impossible.

In the first place, a look at the glosses themselves reveals how little plausible this idea is. Some of the glosses are very unobtrusive, only a very thorough knowledge of the Chou li and the Tso chuan enables us to detect them, and they would therefore but poorly serve Liu's purpose; he could gain nothing by their interpolation. On the contrary there are a great number of rare and remarkable words in those texts which would have suited his purpose admirably, e. g. 鐸, 鉦, 鐃 [厚] etc.. But those are not to be found in the Er ya. Indeed, in regard to these texts the Er ya behaves exactly as to other Chou texts: comprehensive in regard to the Shī, less so in regard to the Shu, Er ya only gives stray and haphazard glosses to other Chou time texts, e. g. Kuo yü, Ch'u ts'ī etc., and the reader cannot see why one word has been glossed and not another; exactly the same applies to its glosses to the Chou li and the Tso chuan.

Secondly — and that is even more decisive — Liu Hin or his followers were not in a position to make any interpolations in the Er ya. We have already seen that the Er ya was, in a way, a canonical book of high prestige at the very beginning of our era. It was well known to a great number of scholars of different schools. Liu Hin had most of the scholars of the Empire against him, because of his literary activities, as bitter foes and adversaries. If he had tried to tamper with the Er ya, he would have been attacked and denounced at once, and the "Chou li and Tso chuan fraud" would have been hopelessly discovered.

Fortunately we need not limit ourselves to general considerations in this respect: we can get concrete proofs. Liu Hin and his disciples were fervent champions

not only of the Chou li and the Tso chuan, but also of the Mao Shī (Mao version of the Shī king) and the Ku wen Shang shu (the K'ung An-kuo version of the Shu king, as against the Kin wen Shang shu, the Fu Sheng version, cf. Pelliot, *op. cit.* p. 144). I must draw attention once more to the statement in his biography in the Han shu: "When Hin come into favour (with the Emperor), he wished to establish (officially) the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu, and the Mao Shī, the recovered Rituals, the Ku wen Shang shu and introduce them all into the official schools". Here we have an excellent touch-stone, for if Liu had wanted or been able to tamper with the Er ya, he would surely have made the slight alterations in it necessary to make it accord with the Mao Shī and the Ku wen Shang shu. Did he do so? A few examples will be enough to show that he did not:

- I. Er ya, Shī yen: 諺, 離也. This refers to Siao ya, Hiang po. Mao: 哆兮侈兮. Mao Shī has 口, Er ya 言 for radical.
- II. Shī yen: 饔過也. This refers to Ta ya, Yi. The Li ki, Tsi i, cites: 不饔于饑. Mao Shī has 不餼于饑, different from the Er ya.
- III. Shī yen: 遯, 遠也. This refers to T'ang feng, Yu ti chī tu. Mao Shī has: 噬肯適我, and Mao's commentary says: 噬, 遠也. Mao has 口, Er ya 辵 for radical.
- IV. Shī yen: 佻, 偷也. This refers to Siao ya, Lu ming. Mao has: 視民不佻. Shuo wen, in the Sū k'ie version, cites Shī: 視民不佻, and explains it by 偷. Mao has 心, Er ya 人 for radical.
- V. Shī ku: 薊, 大也. This refers to Siao ya, Fu t'ien, in the Han version: 薊彼甫田 (*ap.* Yü p'ien, under *tao*). Mao Shī has 倬彼甫田.
- VI. Shī ku: 幬, 有也. This refers to Sung, Pi kung: 逐幬大東. So quoted by Kuo P'o (comm. to Er ya). Mao Shī has: 逐荒大東.
- VII. Shī ku: 漠, 謀也. This refers to Siao ya, K'iao yen: Mao Shī has: 聖人莫之, and both Mao and Cheng Hūan say: 莫, 謀也. Er ya has the radical 水, Mao not.
- VIII. Shī ku: 亮, 信也. This refers to Siao ya, Sang jou. Mao Shī has 職涼善背, and Cheng Hūan says: 涼, 信也.
- IX. Shī niao: 鷓鴣, 離渠. This refers to Siao ya, Ch'ang ti: 鷓鴣在原, so quoted in Tso chuan, Chao 7th year. Mao Shī has: 脊令在原.
These examples could be multiplied; as I have already stated, Er ya frequently differs from the Mao Shī, siding mostly with the Lu version.
- X. Shī yen: 朒, 充也. This refers to Shu, Yao tien. The Ku wen version has 光被四表. The Kin wen version evidently had 朒, cf. Han shu, Wang Mang chuan: 昔唐堯橫被四表 (光 and 黃 as phonetics are interchangeable; 黃 in seal script has 光 as a part).

- XI. Shī ku: 桀, 官也. This refers to Shu, Yao tien: 帝曰疇咨若予采. So the Ku wen version. The Er ya deviates from it by the additional radical.
- XII. Shī ku: 謐, 靜也. This refers to the Shun tien (orig. a part of the Yao tien): 惟刑之謐哉. So was the Kin wen version, as related by Sū Kuang in comm. to Shī ki, Wu ti pen ki, and Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it by: 惟刑之靜哉. substituting the Er ya gloss for the difficult Shu word (see p. 46 above). The Ku wen version has (Legge p. 39): 惟刑之恤哉.
- XIII. Shī ku: 祖, 始也. This refers to Shun tien (i. e. Yao tien): 黎民祖飢. So was the Kin wen version as quoted by Sū Kuang, comm. to Shī ki. Wu ti pen ki (under Shun); and Sī-ma Ts'ien paraphrases it: 黎民始飢. The Ku wen version (Legge p. 44) has: 黎民阻飢.

These examples are sufficient to show that Liu Hin and his followers either did not want to or were not in a position to tamper with the Er ya, so as to bring it into accordance with the texts they championed, the Mao Shī and the Ku wen Shang shu. The Er ya text was already definitely established, known to and constantly drawn upon by all the scholars of the Empire. If the Liu school men would not or could not carry through small retouches like changing 諄 into 哆, 漢 into 莫 etc., still less would they have wished to or been able to make extensive interpolations in order to support the Chou li and the Tso chuan.

THE SHĪ KI.

The Shī ki of Sī-ma Ts'ien, written about 100 B. C., has two important references to the Chou li, mentioning it by the name of Chou kuan.

Shī ki, Feng shan shu (Chavannes p. 417): 周官曰, 冬日至, 祀天於南郊, 迎長日之至, 夏日至, 祭地祇, 皆用樂舞而神乃可得而禮也. This is no direct quotation but a summary, strongly abbreviating, of the contents of the following passage in the Chou li, Ta sī yüe: 雲門之舞, 冬日至, 於地上之圜丘奏之, 若樂六變, 則天神皆降, 可得而禮矣, 咸池之舞, 夏日至, 於澤中之方丘奏之, 若樂八變, 則地示皆出, 可得而禮矣.

That the Shī ki passage here is founded on the Chou li was pointed out already by Schindler (*op. cit.* p. 69).

Shī ki, Feng shan shu (Chavannes p. 479): 羣儒采封禪, 尙書, 周官, 王制之望祀, 射牛事. "The scholars collected [what was said in] the Feng shan, the Shang shu, the Chou kuan and the Wang chī about the *wang sī* sacrifices from afar and the *shê niu* shooting of the ox". This passage is peculiar, for in no present chapter of the Shu king nor in the Wang chī tract inserted in the Li ki is there anything said about these customs. But the Chou kuan reference may very well, as regards the shooting of the ox, refer to Hia kuan, Sī kung shī: 凡祭祀共射牲之弓矢 and Hia kuan. Shê jen: 祭祀則贊射牲, as Schindler

has already shown (*op. cit.* p. 76); and the 望祀 probably has in view the sacrifices to the 四望 which occur and reoccur in the Ch'un kuan section (Ta tsung po, Siao tsung po, Tien juei).

On the Tso chuan, again, the Shī ki has drawn frequently. In my earlier work on the Tso chuan I have discussed some of these extracts in detail and shown that their wording is such as to reveal that the Tso chuan text is primary, the Shī ki text secondary, built on the former. If Si-ma had the Tso chuan text before him, when he wrote down these extracts, in which text divergences reveal the priority of Tso, he must reasonably have had so also in the cases where there are no divergences, and we thus obtain the following passages, which Si-ma has borrowed from Tso chuan, as recorded by Chavannes:

Chavannes I, p. 76—79	is built on Tso chuan, Wen	year 18,
„ „ p. 290—291	„ „ Hi	„ 12,
„ „ p. 292	„ „ Hi	„ 24,
„ IV, p. 6	„ „ Siang	„ 14,
„ „ p. 7—15	„ „ Siang	„ 29,
„ „ p. 19—21	„ „ Chao	„ 27,
„ „ p. 44—46	„ „ Chuang	„ 8,
„ „ p. 52—54	„ „ Hi	„ 4,
„ „ p. 167—168	„ „ Ai	„ 7,
„ „ p. 174	„ „ Chuang	„ 22,
„ „ p. 175	„ „ Sūan	„ 9,
„ „ p. 176	„ „ Sūan	„ 10,
„ „ p. 179—180	„ „ Chao	„ 8,
„ „ p. 259—261	„ „ Min	„ 1,
„ „ p. 261—263	„ „ Min	„ 2,
„ „ p. 268	„ „ Hi	„ 5,
„ „ p. 348—350	„ „ Wen	„ 1,
„ „ p. 352—353	„ „ Sūan	„ 3,
„ „ p. 355—356	„ „ Sūan	„ 12,
„ „ p. 358—359	„ „ Chao	„ 4,
„ „ p. 361—363	„ „ Chao	„ 12,
„ „ p. 364—365	„ „ Chao	„ 13,
„ „ p. 367—371	„ „ Chao	„ 13,
„ „ p. 476—480	„ „ Chao	„ 1,
„ V, p. 133—134	„ „ Min	„ 1,
„ „ p. 294—297	„ „ Chao	„ 7,
„ „ p. 324—326	„ „ Ting	„ 12,
„ „ p. 354	„ „ Ai	„ 2,
„ „ p. 387—389	„ „ Ai	„ 11,
„ „ p. 415—416	„ „ Ai	„ 14,
„ „ p. 425—426	„ „ Ai	„ 16.

THE RITUALS (LI KI, TA TAI LI).

For the question of the Chou li several important passages should be adduced from the Rituals, which, as is well known, were pieced together in the middle of the 1st. c. B. C. from various documents current among the scholars of Western Han times; these documents were mostly pre-Han works, and their existence at any rate in the 2nd c. B. C. can easily be proved¹⁾.

I. Chou li, T'ien kuan, Shi i: (食醫掌和王之六食六飲六膳百羞百醬, 八珍之齊), 凡食齊既春時, 羹齊既夏時, 醫齊既秋時, 飲齊既冬時, 凡和, 春多酸, 夏多苦, 秋多辛, 冬多鹹, 調以滑甘, (凡會膳食之宜), 牛宜稌, 羊宜黍, 豕宜稷, 犬宜粱, 鴈宜麥, 魚宜苽, (凡君子之食恒放焉).

This is reproduced in Li ki, Nei tsê, I. The wording is exactly the same, with the exclusion of the words placed here in parenthesis, and with the exception that the modern graph 視 is substituted for the archaic 眡. The Nei tsê in this instance clearly builds on the Chou li.

II. Chou li, T'ien kuan, P'ao jen: The latter half of the paragraph runs: 春行羔豚, 膳膏香, 夏行腥鱸, 膳膏臊, 秋行犢麋, 膳膏腥, 冬行𩚑羽𩚑膳膏羶..... Li ki, Nei tsê, I, has the same with some slight modifications: 行 is replaced by 宜, 香 by 薌 (alternative graphs), and 𩚑 archaic graph, is replaced by the more modern 鮮 for the same word.

III. Chou li, T'ien kuan, Nei yung: The later half of the paragraph runs: 牛夜鳴則廝, 羊冷毛而毳羶, 犬赤股而躁臊, 鳥白𩚑色而沙鳴鬱, 豕盲眡而交睫腥, 馬黑脊而般臂蠹. Li ki, Nei tsê, I, has the same with some minor deviations: 犬 is replaced by 狗, 盲眡 by 望視, 蠹 by 漏 — variants of text-critical interest for the Chou li.

IV. Chou li, Hia kuan, Chu tsî: 諸子掌國子之倅, 掌其戒令與其教治, 辨其等, 正其位, 國有大事, 則帥國子而致於太子, 惟所用之, 若有兵甲之事, 則授之車甲, 合其卒伍, 置其有司, 以軍法治之, 司馬弗正, 凡國之政事國子存遊倅, 使之脩德學道, 春合諸學, 秋合諸射, 以考其藝而進退之. Li ki, Yen i, has the same paragraph, with some variants: the introduction runs: 古者, 周職天子之官有庶子官, 職諸侯卿大夫士之庶子之卒, 掌其 etc. as above. 辨 is replaced by 別, 帥 by 率, 兵甲 by 甲兵, 遊倅 by 遊卒. For the rest the texts are identical.

V. The chapter *Ch'ao i* in the Ta Tai li is built up, to a large extent, by aid of various passages in Chou li, as pointed out already by Schindler (*op. cit.* p. 77). It would require too much space to deal with it adequately here but a few references to the Ta Tai li edition in the Sî pu ts'ung k'an will suffice. K'üan 12, p. 1a, line 6: 命上公 down to p. 2a, line 1: 如其

¹⁾ Many of them, amongst them the Nei tsê, are alluded to by Mao in his Shi commentary.

命之數, a long passage of 211 words is taken from Chou li, Ch'un kuan, Tien ming, with a few insignificant variants. There follows immediately a long passage, k. 12, p. 2a line 1: 以九饑別 down to p. 2b, line 5: 大夫士皆如之, consisting of 241 words, which is taken from the Ts'iu kuan, Ta hing jen, with very few variants (simplifications like 邦國 for Chou li 城國, 旒 for 旂) but leaving out some difficult technical lines. Ibid. lines 5—10 are a strong contraction of the final part of the Ta hing jen paragraph. Finally, p. 3a, there again is a passage of some lines taken (without variants) from the Ts'iu kuan, Si i.

There can be little doubt that it is the Chou li text that is primary and the Li ki text that is secondary, built on the former. Especially the last example, where the author of the Ch'ao i has worked up various passages from the Chou li into a whole, eliminating some difficult lines, whilst abbreviating and simplifying others, is very significant. It is practically out of the question that a forger of the Chou li should have used the Ch'ao i text, mutilated it and cut it up and added difficult lines to it here and there. We can therefore conclude that the Chou li paragraphs in question are much older than Liu Hin, since they have served as a basis for texts which were current in Western Han times and collected in the middle of the 1st c. B. C., i. e. half a century earlier than Liu Hin's activities amongst the Imperial archives.

SUMMARY.

We have verified the existence of numerous passages out of the Chou li and the Tso chuan before the time of Liu Hin:

- A. Extracts from Chou li incorporated in Rituals that were current in Western Han time and which were formed into a collection in the middle of the 1st c. B. C.
- B. Extracts from or references to both the Chou li and the Tso chuan in Si-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki, written about a century B. C.
- C. References to both the Chou li and the Tso chuan in the Mao Shī commentary, written in the middle of the 2nd c. B. C.
- D. References to both the Chou li and the Tso chuan among the glosses of the Er ya, glosses that were written at the latest in the 2nd c. B. C., but probably in the 3rd c. B. C.

If, in regard to the last point, we take the most cautious stand and reckon only with the 2nd c. B. C., we have conclusively proved, at any rate, that the Chou li and Tso chuan texts existed in the middle of that century. There arises, then, the question: can they have been concocted, not by Liu Hin, who lived so much later, but by some other scholars during the first decades of the Han

dynasty? After the hard times during Ts'in Shī huang and Kao tsu, literature enjoyed a great revival during the reigns of Wen ti and King ti; manuscripts were highly appreciated, and a forger might have profited well in concocting these texts and passing them off as pre-Ts'in works¹). But it is easy to see how extremely unlikely this is. If the two works had been forged in early Han time and had remained unknown, after they left the brush of the writer, for some two hundred years, it might have been possible for scholars at the beginning of our era to mistake them for truly archaic writings. But it is quite another proposition to imagine that the clever scholar Mao Heng, who was a widely-read and very learned man (as his commentary shows), could have been the dupe of a forger practically contemporary with himself. Nay, he must then have been cheated by *two* forgers, for, as pointed out earlier, the Tso chuan often quotes the I.i (Rituals), but never cites the text of the Chou li, which would unfailingly have been the case if one man had forged them both. Now, these extensive texts, so full of facts, names, dates, titles, concrete descriptions, rare words or even *hapax legomena*, would have pre-supposed a scholarship, if they were forged in early Han time, that was simply marvellous²), and it is inconceivable that two anonymous forgers of such great attainments could have existed and succeeded in passing off their writings so as to be accepted by Mao, without his knowing anything about the existence of these splendid scholars or suspecting them of their forgery. Indeed, we should have to conclude that the forger was Mao himself! That, however, is equally impossible. For if Mao had forged the Chou li and the Tso chuan and wanted them accepted as ancient writings, he would surely, in his Shī commentary, not have alluded to them covertly, without mentioning their names, but he would have said: "the Chou kuan says", "the Tso shī ch'un ts'iu says". Altogether, the idea of a forgery of these two extensive and difficult texts in the first decades of the Han dynasty is perfectly inadmissible; once we have proved that Mao saw and used them in the middle of the 2nd c. B. C., we are bound to conclude that they are pre-Han works—which is also confirmed by the Er ya, if, as is highly probable, its glosses were written in the 3rd c. B. C.

There is just one more question to answer. O. Franke (op. cit. p. 65) writes: "Daß das Schi ki Stellen enthält, die sich auch in dem uns als Tso tschuan bekannten Werke finden, beweist nichts: sie mögen einer gemeinsamen dritten Quelle entstammen oder auch dem Werke entnommen sein, das von Liu Hin zum Tso

¹) A bona fide composition of them, openly admitting them to have been written in Han time, is out of the question. The language is, at least in the Chou li, quite archaic on numerous points; if it was written in Han time, it must have been an intentional, fraudulent imitation of the ancient language.

²) Indeed, even Liu Hin, who had access to the Shī ki and all the treasures of the Imperial library, could hardly have been capable of a forgery demanding such energy and learning: still less one or several scholars who would have written these works surreptitiously at the beginning of the Han era, when they could have no such facilities.

tschuan umgearbeitet worden ist". Could we not reason like Franke, and say: we know that certain passages, which are to be found in the present Chou li and Tso chuan, existed in pre-Han times, because they are referred to in Mao, Er ya, Shi ki and Li; but this does not prove that the entire present Chou li and Tso chuan existed in pre-Han times, the forger of Chou li and Tso chuan (Liu Hin) could have found these passages in some earlier work or works now lost, and incorporated them in his own opus. It should be stated very emphatically, that such a reasoning is now, after our investigation, absolutely inadmissible. It might have been allowable, as long as we only knew of a few extracts of the Tso chuan in Si-ma Ts'ien's Shi ki; we could then, perhaps, operate with that "unknown third work" which comes in so conveniently in all discussions of difficult problems of text history. But since the passages out of Chou li and Tso chuan which can be attested in the 2nd or 3rd B. C. are now so numerous, that they give a good anthology of practically every section of these works, the possibility of such an argumentation is eliminated. The tables are now turned: the duty of bringing detailed text-critical proofs now lies with those who want to invalidate these texts, not with those who defend them. If we have not demands for proof, that are perfectly exorbitant, asking for pre-Liu references to every single clause in those big texts, we can assert, without any exaggeration, that *few ancient Chinese texts are so well supported, in regard to their character of pre-Han texts, by early and reliable testimonies, as the actual Chou li and Tso chuan texts*¹⁾.

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The aim of the present investigation was in the first place to vindicate the value of the Chou li and the Tso chuan texts as truly archaic Chinese writings, which can be freely used for archaeological, historical and philological researches. But the question has a moral side as well. A scholar's honour is a precious thing — and it is all the same, to my mind, whether he is a contemporary, fashionable Western professor of philology, or a Chinese philologist of 2000 years ago. The one is as much entitled to justice as the other. We have to be pretty careful before we call a modern (and especially a contemporary) text editor a fraud and a forger; we have to substantiate our accusation with solid facts indeed. I do not see why we should be less severe in our demands for binding proofs when it is a question of one of the ancient heroes of Chinese letters, a man whose genius, learning, energy and enthusiasm we have to thank for most of what we know of China's ancient bibliography. Our investigation seems to me to clear him entirely from the accusations brought against him during many centuries. I think it highly desirable that justice be done to this great scholar who has deserved well of his country.

¹⁾ This, of course, does not preclude that there may be a number of Han time interpolations in them. That is a question which I will not enter upon in the present paper.

MAGICAL USE OF PHALLIC REPRESENTATIONS

ITS LATE SURVIVAL IN CHINA AND JAPAN

BY

ARTHUR WALEY

After having read my paper: *Some fecundity symbols in ancient China* (vol. 2 of this Bulletin) Mr. A. Waley kindly offered these notes as a complement to my article. They illustrate in a striking way the beliefs about the magical protective power of sexual representations. B. Karlgren.

From the Japanese miscellany *Baien Nikki* (1844) (Section 18. Reprinted in *Hyakka Setzurin*. Zoku I, p. 139) by Kita Seiro: "In the *Lu Shih*¹ of Ch'ing-t'êng Lao-jên (i. e. Hsü Wei, 1520—1593) it says: "A certain scholar who possessed a very large number of books put a "spring picture" (erotic painting) in each box. When asked about this he explained that the existence of many books in one place attracted fire, but that these things (i. e. paintings of this kind) charm away the danger of fire."

In the *Wu Li Hsiao Shih* (by Fang I-chih, who graduated in 1640)² it says "Spring Palace Paintings are called Bottom-of-the-Basket Books. If put there, they keep away book-worms." Such paintings are what we called *Makura-e*, Pillow Paintings . . .

In the *Chieh-an Lao-jên Man Pi*³ (by Li Hsü 17th century⁴) it says: "North of Ch'ing-chou⁵ (Shantung) in an old tomb among the barley-fields at the foot of Mount Fêng there have been found a number of thick clam (*ko*)⁶ shells. Inside each were coloured paintings of trees and figures, the figures being naked men and women vividly depicted in the act of embracing . . . exactly like modern Spring Pictures. Shên Pien-chih⁷ got about a hundred of them. They are supposed to be connected with the practice of magic and to date from the Pei Ch'ao period (5th—6th centuries), and this cannot be far wrong."

In the *K'uei Yüan*⁸ it says: "It sometimes happens in Kuan, Lo, Chou and Ch'i (Shensi, Honan, Shantung) that people digging the fields find old pottery, wooden bowls and wooden vases with stands⁹ upon which are painted the most elaborate designs, all consisting of men and women in embrace. Old people have handed down the explanation that the barbarians when they invaded China in the Wei and Pei Ch'i periods (6th century), fearing that the soil might still contain some of the (Chinese) ruling¹⁰ spirit, buried these as counter-charms."

The *Shu yüan Tsa Chi*¹¹ (by Lu Jung¹² 1436—1496) says: "During the Ch'êng

1 路史 2 物里小識 3 戒菴老人漫筆 4 李詡 5 青州 6 蛤 7 沈辯之 8 獮園 9 錠柎 10 王 11 菽園雜記 12 陸容

Hua period (1465—1487) when an embankment was being constructed on the Grand Canal, a stone was split and inside it were found figures, about 3 inches high, of a man and woman in embrace; all the members and limbs were clearly marked, exactly as though they had been carved."

From the *Enkyo Zatzuwa* [(1837) reprinted in *Hyakka Setsurin*, Zoku II, p. 398] by Hio Keizan (1789—1859).

"When I was a lad I looked into the book-boxes at a house where I was visiting and found that in each there was inserted a Spring Painting. When I asked the reason I was told it was a counter-charm against (the bad influences caused by possessing) many books . . .

Ise Ansai (Ise Teijō, 1715—1784) says in the supplement to his *Gaishoku Dan* (composed in 1771): "In boxes where armour is kept, a Spring Painting Makimono should be placed. Then before the warrior goes out to battle he should look at this and so go out with a smile on his face. The victory will then certainly be his."

Finally I should like to call attention to the curious bronze published by Dr. Erkes in *Ethnologica* Vol. IV., which should clearly be studied in connexion with the passages quoted above.

SOME REMARKS ON KARLGREN'S "FECUNDITY SYMBOLS IN ANCIENT CHINA"

BY

EDUARD ERKES

My friend Professor Karlgren has most obligingly supplied me with a copy of his paper "*Some Fecundity Symbols in Ancient China*" (*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities* No. 2), which I regard as one of the most valuable contributions towards the understanding of ancient Chinese religion. Nevertheless, some points touched upon by Karlgren seem to me still to require further elucidation. Here I shall restrict myself to two subjects concerning which I myself had previously written and on which Karlgren's views differ from mine.

The first point concerns the question of the origin of the ancestral tablet. In my paper "*Idols in Pre-Buddhist China*"¹⁾ I tried to show that, as Chavannes, Conrady and Schindler had already supposed, the tablet had derived its origin from a human-shaped image representing the deceased. Of the several passages from ancient Chinese literature which I quoted to prove this, Karlgren only occupies himself with one, a verse from *K'ü Yüan's T'ien-wen*, where it is said that Wu-wang brought the *shi* ("corpse") of Wen-wang with him into the battle. According to the commentary of Wang Yi, this *shi* was really the corpse of Wen-wang, but according to that of Chu Hi, it was merely his *mu-chu* ("wooden lord"). Now, I had concluded from these two interpretations that very probably the custom of carrying a *mu-chu* into battle had developed from an earlier one of taking the body itself, and that therefore the *mu-chu* was something representing the corpse, i. e. an image of the deceased. Karlgren thinks this arbitrary and says that it proves nothing about "the shape of the *mu-chu*, or any similarity on its part to the corpse", and concludes: "Erkes' argument falls to the ground, because the essential link is missing."

This objection would be serious, though not, perhaps, conclusive, if my theory were based solely upon this passage of the *T'ien-wen*. But Karlgren seems to have overlooked several other quotations given by me, which, I think, leave no doubt about the *mu-chu's* having been a human-shaped image. First, there is a verse in *Sung Yü's Chao-hun*, line 49, with which I have dealt in note 29 of the above-mentioned paper, and which mentions the *siang*²⁾ "image" of the deceased, and this *siang* cannot, as the character composed of "man" and "image" clearly shows, have been anything but a human-shaped statue, as indeed is also indicated by Chu Hi's commentary. Further on, the *mu-chu* is described in a passage of the *Lun-heng* as a human image. This passage runs thus: "According to the *li*, when one enters an ancestral temple, a "lord" must not be there. One has thought to cut out a

¹⁾ *Artibus Asiae* 1928, pp. 5—12.

(piece of) wood of one foot and two inches and given it the name "lord". As to the lord, one serves it in spirit, but does not make it a human image."¹) From this passage it follows: 1) that the term *mu-chu* designates a human-shaped statue, 2) that this custom of placing a human likeness on the altar was no longer deemed proper during the time of the Han dynasty, and 3) that it must therefore have been an older custom belonging to the Chou dynasty — for had it been an innovation of the Han time, then Wang Ch'ung would certainly not have failed to denounce it as such. Therefore, I think, we are justified in translating the term *mu-chu* by "wooden image", and in drawing the conclusion that in the other passages of ancient literature where it occurs it also means a human-shaped statue.

There are still further arguments in favour of this theory. In my article I have already quoted some passages which show that the custom of having an ancestral image instead of a wooden tablet persisted in some parts of China up to a very late period, in Fukien as late as the 17th century. The assumption that the human-shaped figure had developed out of a mere tablet seems to me impossible, as the process is everywhere the reverse: the symbol develops out of a naturalistic representation (or something thought to be one) but it is not itself the forerunner of a more naturalistic conception. Therefore I regard Karlgren's view that the "eyes and ears" of the modern ancestral tablet are "surely but a popular corruption and naive amelioration" of the custom of adding the last stroke to the character *chu*, as an impossible one. The use of blood alone is sufficient to prove the antiquity of this ceremony, and, on the whole, "popular corruptions" of a similar kind are nothing but a return to an older fashion of a cult which had undergone a symbolical development. Then the addition of a dot in order to enliven the statue would be meaningless, whereas the addition of eyes and ears is quite reasonable. All this seems to me to prove that the "eyes and ears" custom is the older, and the *tien-chu* the later form of the ceremony.

Another argument in favour of the original human likeness of the *mu-chu* is the existence of human-shaped ancestral images among other Indo-Chinese tribes. Thus, the Lolo of Yünnan use in their ancestral worship "grossiers morceaux de bois, représentant vaguement un homme."²) A similar custom prevails among the Lolo of Tongking and also among the Mosso, where the ancestral statue "se compose d'une tige d'orchidée coupée sur une longueur de 7 noeuds pour un homme, de 9 pour une femme à laquelle, avec quelques flocons de papier, on donne la vague ressemblance d'une figurine haute de 10 centimètres. On la place entre le mur et le toit ou accrochée à la cloison et elle sert de tablette des ancêtres."³)

¹) *Lun-heng* 25,9b (Forke, *The Lun-heng*, I, 536). Comp. the story of Ting Lan, who used to consult the ancestral statue of his father, which is reproduced and described on the gravesculptures of Shantung; Chavannes, *La sculpture sur pierre*, pl. III and p. 10/11.

²) Liétard, *Les Lo-lo-p'o* (1913), p. 131.

³) Lunet de Lajonquière, *Ethnographie du Tonkin septentrional* (1906), p. 331, after Vial, *Les Lolos* (1898), p. 31.

The Angami Naga have a similar custom; they place human effigies upon the graves of the dead¹⁾ and if the corpse of a person killed in battle cannot be recovered, they bury an image in his stead²⁾ which somewhat recalls the *shi* of ancient China. These customs show that the ancestral statue is known to the Indo-Chinese group of peoples, and that it is therefore either a common heritage of the whole stock or a later loan from the Chinese; in either case it proves that originally the Chinese had human-shaped ancestral statues instead of tablets. Still more decisive is the custom of the Annamese, who have adopted the whole of the ancestral cult of China but still make it a rule that the ancestral tablet must have some slight resemblance to a human form.³⁾

On the other hand, I quite agree with Karlgren's theory that the *tsu*⁴⁾ was a phallic image. The idea that the character designates a phallus is indeed not quite new. When I was a student I learnt from my teacher Conrady that that was the current explanation; it is mentioned by Schindler⁵⁾ and much earlier by Gabelentz⁶⁾, who doubtless derived it from a Chinese source, though I have not been able to ascertain the origin of this statement. Some months before Karlgren's paper reached me, I had communicated this trace of primitive Chinese phallicism to Dr. Buschan, who has incorporated it in a work on phallic cults which he intends to publish. But my conclusion is this, that the *tsu* is not identical with the *mu-chu*, but that there were two kinds of ancestral images, the human-shaped *chu* and the phallic *tsu*. This also seems to me to furnish the best explanation of the existence of two terms designating the ancestral tablet; for Karlgren's idea (on p. 7 of his paper) that "it was practical to have two distinct denominations for "ancestor" and "ancestral tablet" "does not seem to me very likely, as such distinctions are hardly ever made in primitive and even in advanced religions. Moreover, Karlgren himself shows that the use of the two terms in ancient literature does not point to the existence of any such differentiation.

Our other point of difference concerns the original meaning of the *ts'ung*, the symbol of the earth-goddess. Karlgren doubts the identification of the *ts'ung* with the vagina of Mother Earth, which I have proposed in the above-mentioned article, as Chinese documentation for this assumption is "entirely lacking". This is true in so far as no direct explanation of this kind is given, but not in the sense that there is nothing in ancient Chinese literature to prove this assumption. I have already cited the evidence in my paper. There is the pit in which, according to the *Li-ki*⁷⁾, the victims offered to the earth were buried — a rite that occurs

¹⁾ J. H. Hutton, *The Angami Nagas* (1921), p. 23; 47/8; 67; 227.

²⁾ *Loc. cit.* p. 185; 191.

³⁾ Camerling, *Über Ahnenkult in Hinterindien* (1928), p. 240.

⁴⁾ See Karlgren, *loc. cit.* p. 3 et seq.

⁵⁾ Schindler, *Die Prinzipien der chinesischen Schriftbildung*, OZ 1916, p. 287, pl. 9, no. 32.

⁶⁾ *Chinesische Grammatik* (1881), § 138, p. 49.

⁷⁾ *Li-ki* 20 (Tsi-fa), 2 (Couvreur, *Li-ki II*, 259).

in the religions of many peoples and which has everywhere the same meaning, namely, the entrance of the victim into the womb of Mother Earth. Then there is the second hexagram of the *Yi-king*, *k'un*, the resemblance of which to the *ts'ung* is so close that a connection between the two can hardly be doubted, the more so as this very hexagram is frequently used as an ornament of the *ts'ung*.¹⁾ That the *ts'ung* has a phallic meaning is also proved, in my opinion, by Karlgren's own ingenious theory as to its use in the ancestral worship. I readily agree with his argument that the *ts'ung* probably served as a cover for the phallic ancestral image *tsu* and was therefore regarded as sacred. But if this is conceded, the conclusion is inevitable that the *ts'ung* also had a religious significance, for without such it could not have become an object of worship. As a cover for the *tsu* it can hardly have been anything but another phallic object, a vagina — representing either the female ancestor, who, if we accept Karlgren's theory of the phallic ancestral image, must have been worshipped under a similar form, or else — perhaps at the same time — the Earth Goddess with whom the deceased had united himself. In favour of the latter hypothesis we may adduce Karlgren's no less brilliant theory of the so-called *ya-hing*, the cartouche so frequently occurring on ancient bronzes, representing the *ts'ung*. For on an object used in the ancestral cult might easily be shown the womb of Mother Earth into which the dead person had returned — thus forming an exact parallel to the so-called face-urns of prehistoric Europe, which are generally explained in the same way.²⁾ In this connection it is also significant that in the burial rites the *ts'ung* was placed upon the stomach of the deceased, as if it was meant to serve him for the purpose of sexual intercourse.³⁾

I think it therefore very probable that the original meaning of the *ts'ung* was that of an image of the Deity Earth, represented by her vagina as the mother and bearer of all creatures. This indeed seems to be an almost inevitable conclusion if we consider the rôle played by the *ts'ung* in the ancient burial ceremonies.⁴⁾ For though the explanations of the six idols buried with the dead, which Cheng

¹⁾ See fig. 49/50 in Laufer, *Jade*, p. 132; Schindler, *loc. cit.* p. 74, pl. 29. Conrady's studies on the *Yi-king*, which deal with the same problem, will soon be published in *Asia Major*.

²⁾ See e. g. J. Richter, *Der vorgeschichtliche Mensch* (in Reumont, *Erde und Mensch*), p. 528. — Should *kuei* "to return" in the frequent sense of "to die" originally have had the meaning "to return to the mother's womb"? See Lie-tse 1,4a (Wilhelm, *Liā Dsi*, p. 4):

鬼歸也歸其真宅 "a *kuei* (demon) is a returned one; he has returned to his true

home"; Shi-tse 2,22b: 鬼者歸也故古者謂死人為鬼人 "to be a demon (*kuei*) is to have returned (*kuei*); therefore in old times the dead were called returned men".

³⁾ Commentary of Cheng Hüan on *Chou-li* 5,37a/b (Tien-jui, *Biot I*, 490/1); comp. Karlgren, *loc. cit.* p. 24.

⁴⁾ See Karlgren, *loc. cit.* p. 24 et seq.

Hüan gives in his commentary on the *Chou-li*, are late and far too artificial to be seriously considered, we may reject them only in so far as he tries to explain the different forms of the jades; but we have no reason to doubt that Cheng's information on the character of the idols is correct. Thus, Cheng is in no way wrong in explaining the *pi* as an image of Heaven. Certainly Karlgren rightly observes that Schindler has shown the *pi* to be the sun-disk, but he forgets that Schindler has also shown that the conception of the Deity Heaven has developed out of that of the Sun God.¹⁾ Therefore Cheng is quite correct in calling the *pi* the image of Heaven, and we have no reason to disbelieve his other statements, though his ideas as to the meaning of their shapes are doubtlessly nothing but philosophic speculations, and the six jades are themselves probably nothing but primitive and very ancient naturalistic representations of the divinities they symbolize, placed in the graves in order to protect the dead against danger coming from any quarter, or, perhaps, on their perilous wanderings through heaven, earth and the four quarters, as Sung Yü has pictured them in his *Chao-hun*.²⁾ The best proof of this is that the *ts'ung* is, as Karlgren puts it, the womanly counterpart of the *pi* of the men, for as the *pi* is the image of heaven, the male power, so the *ts'ung* cannot be anything but the image of earth, the female power.

Further, the queen's and the king's use of the *ts'ung* as a steelyard weight seems to point to its connection with the cult of the earth, for the measures and weights form part of the market-institutions which are regulated by the queen, as they belong to the female sphere and are accompanied by female rites (*yin-li*).³⁾ It is very probable therefore that they originally belonged to the queen, and it was only later, when patriarchal government gradually took the place of the matriarchate, that they were transferred to the king. The circumstance that the *K'ao-kung-ki* mentions the *ts'ung* used by the queen before that of the king⁴⁾ points in the same direction, as the oldest rites are generally mentioned first.

Thus the uses to which the *ts'ung* was put seem to me to point to the following explanation:

The *ts'ung* is originally the image of the deity earth, represented by her vagina. It played a conspicuous part in the mourning ceremonies, being used for symbolizing the union of the dead with the great mother to whom they had returned. As the image of the earth-goddess it was the symbol of female power, used by the queen as a token of her authority, especially in rites which, like the institution

¹⁾ *Hirth Anniversary Volume*, p. 301 et seq.

²⁾ A similar rite exists among the Yakuts, where four wooden idols are placed in the coffin of the *shaman*, a falcon at his head, a cuckoo at his feet, and two other idols on his right and left, so that the spirits may carry him into their realm. Priklonski ap. Bastian, *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (1888), I, 211.

³⁾ *Chou-li* 2,25b/26a (Nei-tsai, Biot I, 145/6). Comp. Conrady, *China* (Pflugk-Harttung's *Weltgeschichte*, vol. III), p. 504.

⁴⁾ *Chou-li* 12,4a (Biot II, 527/8).

of the market and the weights and measures, belonged to her. Where such rites were transferred to the king, the female symbol accompanied them. The real significance of the *ts'ung*, just as that of the *pi*, its male counterpart, must therefore be sought in the cosmological sphere, whence it was transferred to the human one.

SEASONAL FERTILITY RITES

AND

THE DEATH CULT IN SCANDINAVIA AND CHINA

BY

HANNA RYDH

In the first number of this bulletin, in a paper "*On symbolism in mortuary ceramics*", I had the opportunity of pointing out that in the North — and in many other places, too, within and without Europe (as also in China during the Neolithic and Æneolithic times¹) — we have had symbolic burial ceramics differing from the domestic utility vessels. At the same time — making reference to the important role the fertility cult played in prehistoric times and its demonstrable occurrence in the burial rites, with a view to helping the deceased to a new life — I have set forth strong reasons, as I believe, for a similar interpretation of this symbolic ornamentation. As an interpretation of symbolical motifs is always a delicate matter, everything that supports the correctness of such an interpretation is of great value, especially if it is based on entirely new foundations. That is why, since space has been afforded me for the purpose in the same bulletin, I have considered it might be of value to communicate the result of a small investigation in a Swedish — partially Nordic — ethnographical sphere, where the two factors life and death, the fertility rites and the rites for the dead, have hitherto appeared as two irreconcilable contrarieties. The work for my earlier paper, referred to above, gave me the key to the solution of the later problem, which solution, however, in its turn emphasises the probability of one of the principal theories in the first-mentioned paper, the appropriation by the death cult of certain fertility rites.

The question I wish to consider at first here deals with the celebration of the Christmas festival in the North, which — particularly perhaps in Sweden — is incomparably the greatest festival of the year, commemorated by a series of church holydays, but above all celebrated in the home with innumerable preparations and ceremonies. The Swedish celebration of Christmas has been the chief object of interest, and an extraordinarily rich material has been produced both by scientific investigators and by more amateur depictees of local folk-life. Among the former may be mentioned E. Reuterskiöld²), Martin P:son Nilsson³), N. Keyland⁴),

¹) Cf. J. G. Andersson, *On symbolism in the prehistoric painted ceramics of China* in the first number of this bulletin.

²) *Om gamla julseder* in *Göteborgs stifts Julhälsning*, 1913.

³) *Årets folkliga fester*, Stockholm (1917), cited here as *Folkliga fester* (German abbreviated edition: *Die volkstümlichen Feste des Jahres* in *Religionsgesch. Volksbücher*, III, H. 17, 18, Tübingen, 1914) and *Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes* in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIX, Leipzig-Berlin (1918), here cited as *Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*.

⁴) *Inter alia*, *Julbröd, Julbockar och Staffanssång*, Stockholm (1919).

N. E. Hammarstedt¹⁾, Louise Hagberg²⁾, Hilding Celander³⁾). It is on such published material that I base my hypothesis, which aims at finding the bond uniting the two, sometimes three, different points of view (each in itself important) referred to below (p. 70, 77 and 96) as to the celebration of Christmas.

CHRISTMAS AS THE FESTIVAL OF THE LIVING.

Originally the celebration of "Christmas" was not a Christian festival. Christmas as the birthday of Christ was not one of the conceptions of the early Christian church; this is a fact which is already fairly well-known.⁴⁾ When Christianity at last reached the North it had developed its celebration of Christmas, but met here a no less pronounced celebration of midwinter, a festival with an extremely ancient tradition.

According to the statement of Snorre Sturlason in "*Heimskringla*", the people of the North celebrated their midwinter festival at "hokunótt", höknatten (hawk-night) which fell at the solstice, about 14th January.

Many learned men from Olof Rudbeck⁵⁾ to Troels Lund⁶⁾ and Montelius⁷⁾ have characterised the heathen Nordic "Jul" (Christmas) as a festival of the light or the sun. Montelius, who cites *inter alia* Prokopius' (sixth century) description of the festival of the inhabitants of Thule to the return of the sun, expressly says however: "The sun gives not only light, but also good crops. Therefore according to the *Ynglinga saga* Woden commanded the Svear to offer sacrifice for a good harvest during the coming year." This addition by Montelius has not always been observed by later investigators.⁸⁾ That sun-worship really prevailed in the North far back in time, from the Bronze Age at least, receives support in the first place from rock-carvings⁹⁾. But there will also be no doubt whatever that this worship of the sun was not an aesthetic worship of the sun as a disseminator of light, and this has been irresistibly confirmed by the investigations of the last few years. The sun was worshipped as the promoter of fertility, the producer of the fruits of the soil. If everyone is agreed on this matter, but only then¹⁰⁾, "Christmas" may be called a sun festival or a fertility festival, whichever is pre-

¹⁾ *Inter alia* a number of papers in *Fataburen* (Stockholm). Also, *inter alia*, *Julkakor — solbilder* in *Från Nordiska Museets Samlingar. Bilder och Studier tillägnade Gustaf Upmark*, Stockholm (1925).

²⁾ Articles and papers in *Fataburen*. See also *Julstakar och julträd* in *Från Nordiska Museets Samlingar. Bilder och studier tillägnade Gustaf Upmark*.

³⁾ *Nordisk Jul*, I, Stockholm (1928).

⁴⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 123 et seq.

⁵⁾ *Atland eller Manheim*.

⁶⁾ *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16de Aarhundrede*. Vol. VII. Copenhagen (1885), p. 4.

⁷⁾ *Midvinterns solfest* in *Svenska Fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift*, IX, Stockholm (1896).

⁸⁾ H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁹⁾ Cf. O. Almgren, *Hällristningar och Kultbruk* in *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar* 35, Stockholm (1926—1927). French résumé: *Gravures sur rochers et rites magiques*.

¹⁰⁾ Cf. M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 159.

ferred. Then we can also regard the heathen Nordic celebration of "Christmas" as the worship of fertility, which we find amongst the people of the North as amongst all primitive peoples.

The forms of the fecundity cult change with the needs of the peoples; in the earlier period of the Stone Age success in hunting was desired, and therefore the coveted animals were represented in picture. After the introduction of agriculture the greatest promoter of agriculture — the sun — was worshipped, and the sun's wheel and ship, or horse, which bore it across the heavens, was depicted. The Asa doctrine was introduced, and Thor, Woden and Frey occupied the seats of the mighty at Gamla Uppsala. In Thor and Frey the characteristics of gods of fruitfulness are specially prominent. Thor, who occupies the place of honour, carries an axe as his symbol, a symbol of fecundity far older than the god himself.¹⁾ Sacrificial feasts were instituted to the glory of the gods, the principal one being the midwinter sacrifice, especially the one that was celebrated every eighth year at Leire, in Denmark. According to Thietmar of Merseburg (1019), ninety-nine human beings, and the same number of horses, dogs and cocks (instead of hawks), were sacrificed there.²⁾ Whether the great sacrificial feast celebrated in the same way every ninth year in Gamla Uppsala — referred to by Adam of Bremen — also fell at the midwinter feast is not directly stated, but it is probable. At any rate we hear that Woden commanded the Svear to celebrate the midwinter sacrifice "to obtain good crops".³⁾ These sacrifices were accompanied by great festivities, the ale-drinking feast was as important as the sacrifice, and there they drank toasts to their gods and the valiant departed.⁴⁾ It is clear that the festivities accompanying the sacrifices were a sort of sympathy magic in the same spirit as the earlier repetitions of the ardently desired hunting spoils of the rock-carvings. The more pictures of animals one drew, the more spoils one obtained; the more one ate at the great annual harvest feast, the more certain was one of being able to procure food during the coming year. This festival was therefore so important that the person who could not afford to celebrate the "Jul" feast had reason to be very uneasy.⁵⁾

Beyond these statements about the heathen celebration of "Jul" (I would point out that up to the present I am only dealing with one side of it), we have the still existent Christmas customs, or those of unmistakably heathen character, known through later records. In this connection it is not necessary to go into the question of how far the Christian Germanic Christmas is based on Roman or

¹⁾ Cf. my paper quoted above, p. 99 et seq.

²⁾ This statement has been accepted as confirming the correctness of the interpretation of "hokunótt" as "höknatt" (hawk-night). Cf. E. Brate, *Höknatten in Maal og Minne*, Kristiania (1911), p. 406 and also M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 156.

³⁾ Cf. O. Montelius, *Op. cit.*, p. 69, 70.

⁴⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 155.

⁵⁾ Cf. O. Montelius, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.

Nordic features. From M. P:son Nilsson's¹⁾ opposition to A. Tille²⁾ and G. Bilfinger³⁾ it will be proved convincingly enough that, although the Christian Christmas festival has features resembling the Roman Saturnalia and the feast of the Kalends, the Germanic — notably the Nordic — Christmas celebrations are for the most part based on ancient native cult customs. In this connection it must not be forgotten that when a custom by one scholar is called Roman, by another Germanic, it may in reality be so universal that its true origin cannot be traced to either the one or the other, or on the whole established at all. This is not inconsistent with the justifiability of advancing native tradition as the foundation of a Germanic Christian custom that has not a counterpart in a Roman Christian custom, even though to the corresponding heathen Germanic custom there is a heathen Roman analogy. For the question I have wished to answer I have not considered it of any great importance to search for the possible occurrence of the different customs elsewhere, so that I have not usually given such information. The only name for the Christian festival to this day, the Nordic word "Jul" itself (English Yule, older "géol" in Finnish, borrowed from the Scandinavian "jaulo"), a word on the interpretation of which philologists have not yet succeeded in agreeing, shows that the Christmas feast is the old heathen "Jul", which an attempt has been made to Christianize.⁴⁾ I wish to emphasise strongly that it is not my intention in any way to describe in detail the Nordic Christmas celebrations as a whole, or their local varieties. I shall only deal with the chief phenomena of Christmas celebrations that belong to the ancient heathen "Jul".

For the Swedes of to-day the Christmas tree is the chief symbol of Christmas. But all investigators tell us quite frankly that the Christmas tree in its present form with candles, apples, sweetmeats, etc., is a modern custom borrowed from Germany, which did not make its appearance before the end of the eighteenth century and was not quite popularized before the end of the nineteenth. This is true, and it is also true that the Christmas tree had its forerunners, principally the so-called "maj" — a spruce or a pine stripped of its branches, except at the top — which was raised not only at Christmas but also at midsummer, for weddings, roofing feasts, and possibly on other ceremonial occasions, and sometimes also for funerals.⁵⁾ Nevertheless it seems to me that the modernity of the Christmas tree is unduly emphasized. For the German Christmas tree was itself nothing but the widely known "maj", which is, so to say, smartened up for company. In more modern times, when the Christmas tree came to Sweden

¹⁾ *Vorgeschichte des Weihnachtsfestes*, p. 94. Also touched upon in *Folkliga fester*.

²⁾ *Die Geschichte der deutschen Weihnacht*, Leipzig (1893) and *Yule and Christmas, their place in the Germanic year*, London (1899).

³⁾ *Untersuchungen über die Zeitrechnung der alten Germanen*, II: *Das germanische Julfest, Programm*, Stuttgart (1901).

⁴⁾ Cf. M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 150 et seq.

⁵⁾ Concerning the "maj" see M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 23 et seq.

from Germany, it was the stately decoration of the Hall and the Vicarage which spread downwards. But among the peasants here it met its old relation "maj", which still occupied its primitive place out-of-doors, and sometimes, as further evidence of its importance, even in the dung-heap itself. There were also other manifestations of the same kinship "the burning Christmas bush"¹⁾ and "äpplekrakarna" (apple scrags).²⁾ The most unassuming form was the greenery of the "maj" chopped and strewn on the floor. The strewing of the floor with spruce or juniper branches is also a Christmas custom. It is not surprising that the foreign, decorated Christmas tree, introduced by the gentry, elbowed its poorer relation the "maj" out of the hearts of country people. But if the matter is viewed thus, it must not be forgotten that the "maj" and its likes had for centuries prepared the way for the triumphal progress of the fine Christmas tree; it was a familiar custom. The good old "maj" was not ousted, it was taken in from outside and decked in grand finery.³⁾ The story of the Christmas tree offers as good a history of the circulation of social classes as any. But is not the "maj", the old tree of life, the same thing as the guardian tree outside, to which an offering of ale, porridge, cakes, milk and distilled spirits ("brännvin") was made at Christmas⁴⁾? Other forms of the "maj" are the brushwood, which gives fertility, thus bringing happiness⁵⁾ — *inter alia* in the form of the Lenten and Christmas twigs⁶⁾, and the sheaf of corn put out for the birds and sometimes placed on the "maj" — indeed, on the whole the spiritual meaning is the same in all the many shapes of the objects in which straw plays a part in the Christmas customs. Particularly obvious is the importance of "löktneken", i. e. the best panicles of oats put on one side at harvest time and saved and hung out on Christmas Eve. This applies also to the custom of spreading Christmas straw over the fields or placing it round the fruit trees.⁷⁾ Straw on the cottage floor⁸⁾ alternates with spruce branches. Straw-crosses are common; certain objects made of straw have other objects added to them, which emphasize their importance as bringers of fertility.

In the Christmas crowns of straw, which "as far as can be judged have arisen

¹⁾ Cf. H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

²⁾ Cf. H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

³⁾ The Christmas tree decorated with sweetmeats, but also with red apples, may be said to have an equivalent in "äpplekrakarna".

⁴⁾ Martin P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 221. — Here should perhaps be included the "Christmas log", which was to burn throughout Christmas, "and the last remains of which were thrown into the rye-bin, so that there should be a good harvest", or "in the sheep-fold, so that the lambing season should be good". M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 195.

⁵⁾ See *Op. cit.* note above, p. 271. Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I, Berlin (1875), p. 251.

⁶⁾ N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 102, says, *inter alia*, that in Fryksände, in Värmland, the children are prepared for the Christmas holidays by birching. An old proverb runs: "Now I have done all that I ought to do; now I have only to birch the children", said the old woman on Christmas Eve."

⁷⁾ See, *inter alia*, E. Reuterskiöld, *Op. cit.*, p. 11 and H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁸⁾ See, *inter alia*, H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

as more decorative forms of the last sheaf harvested, which in many places was hung up in the roof of the cottage"¹⁾, are sometimes hung blown eggs. It is unnecessary to go into the significance of the egg for fertility, Christianized as a symbol of the resurrection; for that reason eggs were also placed in the fields, or egg-shell was mixed in the sowing-seed to promote good growth.²⁾ When straw is used for making the Yule buck — one of the most conspicuous features of Christmas — both the straw and the buck are promoters of fertility. The buck³⁾, like many other animals, particularly horned animals, has very old traditions in the role. This is striking even in the Moroccan pictures of bucks from the Paleolithic era with the sun's disc between their horns.⁴⁾ In this connection I wish to point out that the symbolical burial ceramics, which I have dealt with, outside the Nordic territory often depict the figures of horned animals together with other motifs interpreted as fertility-producing symbols. The goblet from Susa, which I reproduced in the above-mentioned paper (Pl. V: 8), depicts an animal whose horn enframes a twig; you could ask almost any Swede what it represents and get the answer "a Christmas buck and a 'maj' branch". When the god Thor is drawn by bucks, the bucks — like the axe, the symbol of Thor — are older than the god himself, and they have both been conferred on him because he was a god of fruitfulness, whether he be called the sun-god or the thunder-god — i. e. the rain-giving god — these are only different sides of his nature as a god of fruitfulness.⁵⁾

In this connection it may be mentioned that there are examples of Christmas bucks (persons dressed up as bucks) carrying an axe or a hammer.⁶⁾ The connection is obvious.

In the case of many of these old customs, later explanations of Christian character have obscured the original significance, but here and there the old meaning is often found. As regards the Christmas straw on the cottage floor, those who strewed it would give the explanation that it was in imitation of the straw on which the Saviour lay. But more ancient is the tradition current in a district in Småland that he who does not cover his floor with Christmas straw on Christmas Eve cannot expect any harvest in the coming year.⁷⁾ On Christmas night people

¹⁾ N. E. Hammarstedt, *En julutställning i Nordiska Museet in Fataburen* 1909, p. 251. — A similar crown of pig's bristles is probably connected with the boar's importance as a source of fertility, see below p. 76.

²⁾ Louise Hagberg, *Pdskäggen och deras hedniska ursprung in Fataburen* 1906, p. 153 et seq.

³⁾ Cf. M. P:son Nilsson's conception of the buck as a vegetation demon, *Folkliga fester*, p. 219.

⁴⁾ L. Frobenius, H. Obermaier, *Hädschra Måktuba*, München (1925), Pl. 91, 94, 134.

⁵⁾ When M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 219, says that it is difficult to understand why the thunder-god Thor is drawn by bucks, the explanation is not far to seek, as has been shown. In the matter of Frey and the boar, however, this author follows the same line of thought.

⁶⁾ N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

⁷⁾ H. Celander, *Op. cit.*, p. 140. I am more inclined to consider such an interpretation to be of earlier date than M. P:son Nilsson's, that the straw was laid for the sake of warmth, *Folkliga fester*, p. 191. My opinion is supported by the corresponding wedding custom, pp. 75, 82.

often slept on the floor in the straw, certainly an act of ritualistic import¹⁾ similar to the ritualistic nuptials in the fields and the "maj" wedding spoken of by Mannhardt.²⁾ It is also significant that many of these customs are not associated with Christmas only.

We have already spoken about the presence of the "maj" on different occasions. As the "maj" is closely associated with weddings — it was put up on the day before the wedding³⁾ and remained until the first child was born⁴⁾ — so is also the crown of straw.⁵⁾ Strewing straw on the floor was also a wedding custom.⁶⁾ — In 1910 a peasant from the parish of Nymö in Scania gave an interesting piece of information. He was asked if the Christmas buck was known in his childhood, and he answered "as a child I only saw the Christmas buck once, at a wedding on the borders of Blekinge".⁷⁾ This corresponds to the custom from Fryksände in Värmland.⁸⁾

In this connection it may be mentioned that in olden times Christmas was, and to a large extent still is, a time when weddings were solemnized. From Fryksände comes the information that all weddings were, if possible, celebrated on the day after Christmas.⁹⁾ It was also part of the Christmas celebrations for the young people to amuse themselves with various games, which can often be shown to have a ritualistic import, and the appearance of the Christmas buck was then very usual. The games were often played in the Christmas straw.

Here may be mentioned the custom on St. Stephen's Day, the day after Christmas, of watering the horses and racing on horseback across the fields — a custom that has a counterpart in many other countries; in Germany the day is sometimes called "der grosse Pferdetag"¹⁰⁾, and in England the same custom is also met with.¹¹⁾ The ride of St. Stephen, which has an analogy in the race home from the early service on Christmas day, has been associated with the ride of the gods of fertility over the fields.¹²⁾ This is exemplified, *inter alia*, by the journey of Nerthus among the South Germans and the carrying round of Frey to give peace and fertility to the Svar.¹³⁾

¹⁾ Cf. H. Celandér, *Op. cit.*, p. 143 et seq., who says that, particularly in Runö (Esthonia) and among the Finnish-Swedish peasants, there is a saying about lying in the straw, which points to such an original significance.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 480 et seq.

³⁾ N. Lithberg, *Bröllopseder på Gottland in Fataburen* 1906, p. 84.

⁴⁾ N. E. Hammarstedt, *Striden om vegetationsstången in Fataburen* 1907, p. 193.

⁵⁾ H. Celandér, *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁶⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 191.

⁷⁾ N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁸⁾ N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

⁹⁾ See preceding note.

¹⁰⁾ W. Mannhardt, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 403.

¹¹⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 259.

¹²⁾ Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Op. cit.*, p. 402 et seq. Cf. H. F. Feilberg, *Jul*, I, p. 221.

¹³⁾ Cf. W. Mannhardt, *Op. cit.*, I, p. 588 et seq. Cf. N. M. Petersen, *Mythologi*, p. 337.

One of the most important features of Christmas, however, is the special Christmas fare. The excessive amount of eating, which still to this day characterizes Christmas, is the horror of modern doctors, ruins the finances of the not too well-to-do families for some months ahead, and can only be explained by the immense power of tradition. We are still slaves to the ritualistic eating, which, far from being mere good living, had the extremely serious function of assuring for the coming year the necessities of life, and, it was hoped, prosperity. Practically all the traditional dishes — with the exception of certain goodies and the "lutfisk" (dried cod) — have probably originated from heathen ideas. One of the most important roles is played by the pig, from olden times connected with the fertility rites and allotted to Frey as a steed. At the sacrificial feast at Gamla Uppsala oxen and pigs were offered in his honour. I recall Heidrik's boar (*Hervarar saga*) and the boar Särimner, which was consumed every day by the warriors in Valhalla but every evening was whole again. No Swedish Christmas table is without its pig's head or ham — often decorated with sugar spirals, the old symbol of the sun — brawn, spare-ribs of pork, pork sausage or pig's feet. And the pig's head and the ham make their appearance again in marzipan on the sweet-meats table. The custom of dipping a slice of bread in the water the pork has been boiled in is a relic of the sacrificial meal. Brown beans and green peas, which are also Christmas fare, have the same obvious significance as the nuts, apples, rice porridge etc. Celanders¹⁾ report on the subject of porridge-eating from a district in Dalsland is extraordinarily instructive: The old man took a spoonful of porridge and said "I reap in thick fields". Then the old woman took a spoon and said "I gather in thick fields". Finally the boy took a spoon and said "I make a binder and bind in thick cornfields". The porridge rhymes are undoubtedly old incantations. The porridge was a festive dish also at weddings, hay-making, ale and threshing festivals.²⁾ The significance of rice is made clear by other customs, such as throwing it at the departing bridal couple. The Christmas bread was particularly prominent in various forms depicting the sun, or in the shape of a boar, a buck, a cock, sitting hens³⁾ or a "hornoxe"⁴⁾ etc. I will especially mention the curious frog-bread from Jämtland.⁵⁾ Every member

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 185. Cf. H. F. Feilberg, *Dansk Bondeliv*, I, Copenhagen (1910), p. 267.

³⁾ It is the ginger biscuits in different forms that have persisted longest among the people. The butter on the Christmas table was often formed into the shape of a cock or some similar animal.

⁴⁾ N. E. Hammarstedt, *Julkakor-solbilder in Från Nordiska Museets Samlingar. Bilder och Studier tillägnade Gustaf Upmark*, Stockholm (1925), p. 59. Hammarstedt interprets the sitting hens as "obvious symbols of summer warmth"; it seems to me simpler to consider their sitting to be in itself symbolic.

⁵⁾ Cf. my paper *Ett ovanligt julbröd i Jämtlands läns museum in Heimbygdas tidskrift. I. Fornvårdaren*, Vol. IV (1931). Concerning the significance of the frog see also my paper cited in this Bulletin no. 1, p. 107.

of the family was allotted a special pile of different kinds of bread. In Kronoberg county I have seen a Christmas table with a whole baked wedding-procession. Of immense importance were "såkakorna" (the sowing-cakes) which were baked for Christmas of flour from the last-gathered sheaf, in which the "ruling power" of the cornfield had, it was considered, taken refuge, or from the last dough in the kneading-trough. After they had remained on the table all through Christmas, the sowing-cakes were kept in the corn-bin till the spring, when they were partly mixed with the seed for sowing so as to return to the earth, and partly utilized for the people of the house and the domestic animals¹), for both the men who ploughed and the animals ate of the sowing-cakes.

Side by side with the Christmas eating there is the drinking, and it is rather remarkable that the heathen toast drinking (cf. p. 71) has been Christianized into drinking toasts to Christ and the Virgin Mary or to God.²) For this reason the Christmas ale has great power.

CHRISTMAS AS THE FESTIVAL OF THE DEAD.

Although the majority of investigators are agreed in considering the Northern heathen "Jul" as principally a fertility festival, attaching the greatest importance to one aspect or another of it, one side of the Christmas festival that I have not yet indicated here has remained as an irreconcilable contrast to the pronounced life-feature of the Christmas festival, as has been strongly emphasised particularly by H. F. Feilberg in his excellent work on Christmas.³) I refer to Christmas as the feast of ghosts and spirits. Martin P:son Nilsson, who writes with the first-named theory clearly before his eyes, does not however disregard Feilberg's view of Christmas and indicates how difficult it is to analyse the various elements met with: "He who has wished for a clear picture of the Northern — above all the heathen — 'Jul' has not been satisfied. This is due to the nature of the material, the uncertainty as to the correct value of most of the information, the extremely few fixed points. But an unfinished picture is truer than one in which the gaps in our knowledge are filled by our own inventions" — these are the last words in this author's chapter *Fornnordisk jul* in "*Årets folkliga fester*".⁴)

It is however obvious from what he says later on in the same work that this author does not attach the chief weight to the significance of Christmas as a festival of souls, for he explains that such a conviction must be due to the fundamental conception that great numbers of the beings met with in popular beliefs,

¹) Similar customs are known in several other countries. M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 211 et seq. Cf. various types of bread in N. Keyland, *Op. cit.* The sowing cakes from Uppland, ornamented with the impress of the larder-key, are of interest.

²) M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 214.

³) *Jul*, I, II, Copenhagen (1904).

⁴) P. 162.

elves, brownies and others, are, in fact, the souls of departed people. "I cannot accept this conception as correct, but this is not the place to oppose it", he says.¹⁾ "Confusion has certainly taken place, but the belief in elves, brownies and spirits has its root in the belief in other spirits than those of departed human beings. As a result of this confusion, even the souls of the dead mingled with the host of spirits who journey in the darkness of Christmas night. We know the history of the Feast of All Souls in France. In the sixth century it was still kept on the old Roman day in February; a couple of centuries later, when the invading Germans had penetrated into the country, the Church instituted the Feast of All Saints on 1st November to lay the hand of the Church on the Feast of All Souls, but as they did not wish to refrain from turning themselves to their own dead — not only to saints and martyrs — the next day became All Soul's Day, and this festival is celebrated everywhere within the Roman Catholic Church. In the Christian table of festivals there is no day that could occasion the Feast of All Souls' being fixed on just that day in the autumn. We must therefore consider this day more nearly the original one than Christmas. It is true that most people we find in undisturbed heathendom celebrate their feast of souls in the spring, but this is no general law, and we are therefore not justified in stating that the ancient Germans also kept their feast of souls in the spring. It therefore seems to me most probable that the Swedish popular belief which turns the Christmas visitors into the souls of the dead represents a transformation and a further development. Just as the influence of Christian conceptions changed souls into angels, the powers and spirits of Nature, good or evil, which wandered about in the mid-winter nights, and even visited human habitations, were transformed into the souls of the departed. For Feast of All Souls must be pre-supposed even in the case of Nordic heathendom; it is unknown when it was kept, but later it became associated with the time for Christmas ghosts and has set its stamp on the popular beliefs about Christmas." Keyland²⁾ takes up a non-committal position. "Taking the death cult as a working hypothesis, most of the sayings and doings at Christmas can be explained. Naturally in this, as in everything, one can go to work too one-sidedly. The question is whether from the beginning Christmas was a feast of the dead or of souls at all . . . Another line of thought in the investigation into Christmas customs has attached great importance to emphasizing particularly the numerous conceptions of fertility which are connected with the popular celebrations of the Christmas festival".

In the old Northern "Jul" as met with in the Northern sagas the ghostly element is very pronounced.³⁾ We again find the idea of the dead in the Christmas customs of later times, chiefly in the following forms. The Christmas table with food and drink might not be cleared on Christmas night — it had to remain

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 231 et seq.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

³⁾ H. F. Feilberg, *Jul*, I, p. 96 et seq. M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 160.

for the spirits of the dead.¹⁾ The Christmas straw on the floor is explained as being a resting place for the dead or for one's self, because it was wished to give the dead an opportunity to sleep in the beds of the living that night.²⁾ The fact that the dead were awaited is shown *inter alia* by the custom of having places prepared for the deceased members of the family and left empty³⁾, and by the prohibition against shutting the flue of the stove on Christmas Eve, so that the spirits of the dead could not enter, etc.⁴⁾ The dead were believed to celebrate mass in church before the early Christmas service.⁵⁾ On Christmas Eve the elves dance on the graves, which are raised on golden supports so that one can see in — and perhaps, as in the saga about the Ljungby horn, take part in the feast, etc.⁶⁾ Connected with this was the possibility of learning future events from the dead.⁷⁾ What were the questions that they wanted answered? "The questions were always about the same matters: death or marriage. They recur with terrifying monotony", says M. P:son Nilsson.⁸⁾ "The girls inquire as to their future husbands; in their lives marriage is the point round which everything revolves. Thoughts are still more anxiously concerned with approaching death. This does not imply a fear of death. On the contrary, the imperturbable calm with which a peasant of the old stock met death is almost incomprehensible to modern people. No one has fulfilled, as he has, the exhortation of the Stoic philosopher 'to leave life's table a satisfied guest'. For that reason no premonitions of death have disturbed the Christmas happiness. In addition to life and death there is one other thought ever present in the minds of a people who live by agriculture: what will the coming harvest be like? How will the stock and the people thrive?" It is natural that at Christmas they centred on the matters mentioned above. It may seem monotonous to us, but it is none the less consistent.

Although I have no reason to admit at this point a general belief as to the connection between the spirits of the departed and the many hidden beings existing in Nature with which popular fancy occupies itself, I find it difficult not to believe that such a relation, where the soul of the deceased is the original one, did exist; for example, between the brownie or elf in the barn or at the foot

¹⁾ "Who also had physical needs and once a year ought to be able to feast", considers N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 9, a conception that has nothing to do with the primitive conception on this point. Cf. below, p. 81, 83.

²⁾ This latter explanation is of course secondary. Cf. above, p. 73—75. N. Keyland, *Op. cit.*, p. 9. M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 229.

³⁾ Communicated verbally by Bishop E. Reuterskiöld.

⁴⁾ Communicated verbally by Mr G. Lindwall, Vexiö.

⁵⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 230 and other authors.

⁶⁾ As last note, p. 223.

⁷⁾ As last note, p. 234 and other authors.

⁸⁾ As last note, p. 239.

of the guardian tree (cf. p. 73) and the ancient bygone inhabitants of the farm. When in Norway the guardian tree is associated with the so-called "högbonden" (mound peasant) who lives in the grave mound near the farm¹⁾ then the elf is thereby revealed.²⁾ For who lived in the mounds just near the farm if not the departed of one's own family. Therefore porridge and Christmas fare were carried out, or ale was poured on the grave mound with the greeting "God's peace in the mound". — "On the oldest farm in Årdal in Säterdalen the housewife said, when she poured out wort over the 'elf-birch' which grew on the 'elf mound'. 'This is what you get because you were such a fine fighter!'" — "The cult of ancestors can hardly find plainer expression", says H. Celander, who quotes this example. To me also it seems impossible not to see in this the connection: 1. the soul of the deceased, 2. the elf or the brownie, the origin of whom one still feels, even though somewhat vaguely, 3. after the further advance of Christianity the brownie becomes either an angel — if one is on good terms with him — or, in the contrary event, a troublesome ghost. In my opinion the space of time we have to deal with is not long enough for a development on M. P:son Nilsson's lines. For as late as in the Icelandic sagas ghosts, goblins and brownies are met with more often than the souls of the dead, but then we already stand with one foot in Christian time and development will have passed straight over to the belief in angels or spirits of the nether world, with no room for a stage on which the soul of the departed assumes such an obvious form of manifestation. The researches of most recent times, even in the north, which as far as I understand render it possible for us to trace back to the Stone Age the belief in the continuance of life after death, also confirm the belief that the souls of the dead have played a very great part in popular conception from time immemorial and have had time to give rise to widespread tradition.

I am now coming to the reason why it seems absolutely natural to me that, from the first, "All Souls' Day" should be connected with Christmas. From this standpoint it was not perhaps inconvenient for the Christian Church to find in the institution of All Saints' Day and its removal to the 1st November an excuse officially to move those souls from Christmas whose customs could never be Christianized and whose frenzied homage to life was hardly in accordance with the mediaeval ecclesiastical conception of the significance of death.³⁾ On the other hand, that Christmas will still continue for a long time to be the feast of the dead — in Sweden to this day graves are tended at least as much at Christmas as on the so-called grave-decorating day, a modern Protestant form

¹⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 221.

²⁾ Celander holds a similar opinion, *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

³⁾ It may be mentioned at once here that, on an analogy with this, upon its breaking through classic ground, Christianity tried to eradicate the ancient Roman death cult, but without success. so that it was Christianized instead and became the feast of souls. Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

of All Souls' Day — is evidence of the hold of the old heathen "Jul" on the minds of the people.

What I have said above, however, is not to be taken to mean that I consider "Jul" originally to have been a feast of souls only. On the contrary, I consider that its origin lies in its nature as a celebration of the fertility of Life. But it is so just because "Jul" was the greatest festival of crops and fruitfulness, and in this lies what I wish to set forth as a new and unifying thought, in conformity with the point of view expressed in my above-mentioned paper¹⁾ on the great importance of the fertility rites in the death cult being not only quite explicable and natural but also necessary and quite in agreement with primitive conceptions²⁾, that "Jul" — Christmas — was the day of the dead. The dead returned in order to take part in the life-giving fertility rites that were to maintain life or regenerate them.

This connection between the fertility and death rites receives amazing support from a custom in Fryksände in Värmland, where all weddings are preferably celebrated on the day after Christmas Day. N. Keyland³⁾ says "The bride hid a piece of the wedding bread — which is now at the same time also the Christmas bread⁴⁾ — in her clothes chest, preserved it throughout her life and took it with her in her coffin to the grave." I recall that among the burial customs I quoted and which bear particularly closely on the problem in question was included that of placing in graves eggs⁵⁾, barley, beans etc.⁶⁾. A modern confirmation of a similar primitive conception of continued existence is found in the fact that in the 18th century, and even in the 19th, it was customary to place in the grave of the deceased a bottle of "brännvin" (distilled spirits) — undoubtedly believed originally to be life-giving in the same sense as the Christmas ale.

Analagous rites certainly lie behind other burial customs, the original meaning of which is entirely concealed from those who perform them. Women are for instance often laid in the tomb in their bridal attire. In certain districts of Småland a "gate of honour" is built up of spruce branches over the churchyard gate for funerals — exactly as for weddings. The only difference is that for weddings the branches are turned so that the needles point upwards, and for burials downwards, but this difference may very well have arisen at a later period.

¹⁾ This bulletin, vol. I, p. 86, 109 et seq. Errata and Addenda (up to p. 120) to p. 110 and 111.

²⁾ Cf. my paper just cited, p. 108.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

⁴⁾ Cf. above p. 77, the sowing cakes' life-giving importance for the soil, domestic animals and human beings.

⁵⁾ Cf. above, p. 74, the eggs in the crown of straw.

⁶⁾ Cf. below p. 83; my paper quoted, p. 111 and Louise Hagberg, *Påskäggen och deras hedniska ursprung* in *Fataburen*, 1906, p. 144 and 153.

Further, for a funeral a "maj" is likewise set up outside the house or the church,¹⁾ sometimes also along the road between them. In the same district, and also in Blekinge, chopped spruce or juniper twigs are strewn — not only, as in other places, on the path between the home of the deceased and the hearse, but the neighbours also strew twigs in front of their houses, particularly where the funeral procession will pass by. Sometimes the twigs are arranged in cruciform patterns. These twigs undoubtedly have the same significance as the chopped twigs which at Christmas and other festivals — weddings²⁾ in particular — are strewn in the yard or on the floor of the cottage (sometimes on the floor of the church), with the same significance as the "maj", and which are sometimes replaced by straw. This is confirmed by the fact that in Blekinge to strew these spruce twigs is called to "maja".³⁾ The decoration of graves with wreaths has probably the same significance, now forgotten. In our own time, when at Christmas we often find little Christmas trees on the graves in the churchyard — especially on children's graves — they are certainly placed there because the Christmas tree is dear to Swedes and because particularly at Christmas time they wish to remember the dead with that which was their joy in life. But the Christmas tree — the "maj" — on the grave is in keeping and perhaps has a direct tradition.

It seems extremely probable that, as also of course in the case of the wedding feast, the funeral feasts have a significance corresponding to the Christmas eating and drinking (see above p. 76). Everyone knows that in earlier times there were, and still are to this day especially in the country, funerals that are followed by excessive feasting, which seems extremely repulsive to us by reason of its frequently unrestrained character. According to our notions there should be only demonstration of sorrow, but eating and drinking seem to be the chief thing and dancing is not always absent. I remember how shocked I was once when, as a child, I was present at a country funeral, and a toast was drunk to the deceased (cf. p. 71, 77 above, the heathen drinking of toasts to the gods and souls of the dead). Wine-drinking at funerals is an extremely deep-rooted custom still observed in all ranks of society. The funeral meals must not be looked upon only as evidence that the dead are believed still to live and thus are in need of food. Still less must they be conceived of as being for the sake of the living or as their last feast in memory of the dead. In its original significance the funeral meal⁴⁾ was one of immense im-

¹⁾ M. P:son Nilsson, *Folkliga fester*, p. 33, mentions the custom from Östbo härad. I have seen it myself in Kronoberg county. N. E. Hammarstedt, *Striden om vegetationsstämningen i Fataburen*, 1907, p. 195, mentions the custom from Småland of the "funeral branch" having the top broken down — to distinguish it from the "bridal pole" —, which may also be a later addition.

²⁾ Cf., *inter alia*, N. Lithberg, *Bröllopseder på Gottland in Fataburen*, 1906, p. 86.

³⁾ Communicated verbally by Mr C. A. von Zweibergk, Vexjö.

⁴⁾ The dishes were, on the whole, the same as at Christmas; E. Grip, *Svenskt allmogeliv*, Stockholm (1917), p. 33.

portance to the deceased, who, by this means at a critical juncture, when he was in the transitional stage between two phases or states, was helped to a new or continued existence, whatever it might be. The form of this help was quite naturally the same fertility rites as were celebrated at weddings or the great fertility festivals held particularly at Christmas. Ancient conceptions of this sort therefore account for the anxiety felt by dying persons and show that the funeral feast must be thorough and the deceased "be honourably buried". From this vital point of view such anxiety is more natural than that merely connected with providing for the material entertainment of the living at such a serious moment. Old women who felt death drawing near might, if capable of doing so, themselves bake the cakes for their own funerals. The deceased was sometimes even moved into the cottage in the coffin and took part in the feast as the guest of honour.¹⁾ At burials among primitive peoples festival meals are commonly held at which the dead are imagined to be the guests. Fruit from trees the dead had planted and food prepared from animals from his herds etc. are eaten.²⁾ Probably these meals were originally eaten at the grave, as they are said to be still, symbolically, in parts of Russia and the Balkans, where every funeral guest eats a spoonful of porridge mixed with honey placed at the grave on a white cloth.³⁾

The burial feast has extremely ancient traditions. All evidence goes to prove that in times long past feasts were held at burials — we usually call them sacrificial feasts. There are also certain indications that sometimes they may even have been cannibalistic sacrificial feasts.

The finds in graves, even from the Neolithic period, of vessels containing remains of porridge — the "soul porridge" that still forms part of the funeral meal in many places — and the symbolic death bread⁴⁾ correspond to the eggs and barley placed in the graves mentioned above. But there are also often found quantities of bones of animals, which obviously are the remains of a meal afterwards intended for the meals of the deceased. As the Christmas customs have, so to speak, a vegetative and an animal side, so have also the objects placed in graves.

Among primitive peoples these feasts are often repeated at fixed times during the first year after the burial. Sometimes after about three-quarters of the year has passed this feasting may be completed with a final feast. It is obvious that the deceased is not believed to take part in the feasting exactly as he did on earth; there were often cases where the deceased had been burnt or the dead body destroyed in some way or other. It appears instead that these different feasts were

¹⁾ E. Reuterskiöld, *Om Döden och Livet in Inbjudan till teologie doktorspromotionen vid Uppsala Universitet 1927*, p. 7.

²⁾ Cf. M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII, art. *Totenfest* (by Thurnwald), Berlin (1929).

³⁾ M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII, art. *Totenmahl*, § 1 (by G. Wilke).

⁴⁾ M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII, art. *Totenopfer*, § 3 (by G. Wilke).

celebrated at different stages, which were thought to be parallel with the growth of the embryo up to the time of birth.¹⁾ Thus when the final feast took place the deceased was born to a new life.

To answer the main question in this paper — was Christmas, which is undoubtedly a fertility feast, also at the same time a feast of the dead, since the fertility rites were included in the death rites with the object of helping the dead to a new life? — it is naturally of immense importance if we can prove that on the whole customs resembling the Christmas customs (which are connected with the fertility cult) were met with at the feast of souls. Above all, did the "feast of souls" coincide with the "harvest feast"? If so the matter is clear enough, and the principle in the question discovered, for it is not associated with Christmas as a feast connected with a season, but with the logical consistency in coupling the fertility feast with the feast of souls. Now it is a fact that we know of similar analogies not only from the greater part of Europe but also from various other regions. H. F. Feilberg cites a number of extremely illuminating examples.²⁾

At the Anthesteria, celebrated in Athens, there was a festival sacred to Dionysos held in the month of Anthesterion (the beginning of March), at which, on the first day, the newly fermented wine from the previous year was tapped, and on the second day it was drunk at competitive public carousals. The third day was the festival of souls, when the latter were fed in their homes, and earthenware vessels containing boiled pulse were placed on the graves.³⁾ The Roman Feralia festival (21st February), which was a kind of All Souls' Day, was certainly not a harvest festival for the living, but not only was food, such as wine with bread in, salt, milk, oil, honey and also flowers and wreaths, set out for the dead, but the following day was devoted to feasts of remembrance for the living, recalling burial feasts.⁴⁾

At the bishops' conference at Tours in 567 it was expressly forbidden to put food on the graves, which was still done in spite of the fact that the day was now celebrated as the Feast of St. Peter's Chair.⁵⁾ At the Lemuria feast (in March) when suicides, murdered persons, etc., were believed to walk again, the father of the house put black beans in his mouth, went through the house bare-footed, strewed the beans without looking behind him, and said: "I give you this and thus buy myself and mine".⁶⁾ When the Feast of All Souls, which follows the

¹⁾ Cf. M. Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, Vol. XIII, art. *Totenfest* and *Totenkultus*, A. § 36 (by Thurnwald).

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 6 et seq. Cf. Louise Hagberg, *Påskäggen och deras hedniska ursprung in Fata-buren* 1906, p. 153.

³⁾ Feilberg, *Jul*, I, p. 12. Cf. *Nordisk Familjebok*, Vol. I, art. *Anthesteria* (by A. M. A[lexander-son]), Stockholm (1904).

⁴⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 13. Cf. *Nordisk Familjebok*, Vol. VIII, art. *Feralia* (by R. T[örnebladh]), Stockholm (1908).

⁵⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁶⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

Feast of All Saints (1st November), became the day consecrated to the memory of the dead, the heathen customs referred to were transferred to that day practically unchanged. Food was carefully set out everywhere in the houses for the dead¹⁾, and every opportunity was given them to enter the house. But the graves were visited also and food or something of that sort placed there, e. g. in many places various sorts of "soul-bread", wine and honey (Russia), red eggs (Servia), straw crosses (Belgium), flowers etc. In Bosnia and Herzegovina a feast of souls is celebrated on the first Friday after Easter, when coloured eggs and "Kolačen" (Easter bread) are placed on the graves.²⁾ In some places the living often eat and drink merrily and convivially in the churchyard itself (Messina), at home, or at the inns.³⁾

A later form is found in the custom of almsgiving in memory of the dead instead of placing such gifts on their graves. In France on that day hazel-nuts, walnuts, and apples, are taken to church and given to the children; in Abruzzia the poor are given pea-soup.⁴⁾

We find the same customs and beliefs outside Europe also. Similar soul feasts are met with among the Persians, the Vedas, the Japanese and the Chinese.⁵⁾

All these customs that Feilberg cites, as he himself says "reappear one by one in the northern Christmas beliefs" and are extremely illuminating, but he himself does not draw from them the conclusions that seem to be the most obvious. He says⁶⁾: "At sowing time, in spring and autumn, restlessness comes over the dead. They hold sway in the inner darkness of the earth where their homes were; and when the farmer's plough cuts furrows in the fertile soil, and his hand scatters the grain in the furrows, then he expects help from the spirits, so that the corn may sprout and grow. Sun and rain and dew *come from them* when the shoots have reached the light of day, but before that happens germination and growth come from the dark earth. Then, when restlessness falls upon the spirits, they come in hosts at night from their dark home to the dwellings of men. Where they themselves once lived, in the homes of their families, among relations, they expect hospitality and gifts, for which they are willing to pay with the rich fruitfulness of the earth. Tables are laid and decorated for them on the hearth, they are asked to leave again when they have had their food; the dead and the living cannot live under the same roof at the same time. These are general human conceptions, general human customs, which we meet with here in the cult of the

¹⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 30 et seq. An extremely realistic custom from Mexico is described: a candle being lighted for every deceased member of the family; little paper coffins are made, in which are corpses of cake or sugar, and a table is laid with bread and roasted corn, fruit, nuts, even cigarettes, and always a bottle of wine.

²⁾ Louise Hagberg, *Pdskäggen och deras hedniska ursprung* in *Fataburen* 1906, p. 144.

³⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 76 et seq.

⁴⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 78 et seq.

⁵⁾ Feilberg, *Op. cit.*, p. 7 et seq. Concerning the Chinese see the special chapter below on p. 86.

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 5.

dead; it seems to be the case for our race in south and north, in east and west, among the highest and the lowest." The motives that underlie such general human conceptions cannot be so vague. What has the unrest of the spirits to do with the fact that the living rely on help from the spirits for the growth of the corn? And what, for that matter, does this reliance of theirs convey to us? The oft-recurring explanation, that spirits returned to their homes on Christmas night as it was the darkest night of the year, is a very vague interpretation, which does not explain why they come on that particular night, when a large succession of nights were about equally dark, or in any case dark enough to afford the spirits an opportunity, so to speak, for such a return. As far as I can discover, we only obtain complete consistency in the coupling together of fertility and death feasts by regarding these death rites as borrowed from the fertility cult.

FERTILITY RITES, THE CULT OF THE DEAD AND THE LIFE-PROMOTING ANNUAL FESTIVALS IN CHINA.

I have refrained until now from speaking on these subjects in regard to China, because I have particularly desired to devote a special chapter to that country. The cult of the dead was and is an extraordinarily characteristic and fundamental factor in the Chinese conduct of life. Its main principle is the worship of ancestral spirits. The cult is, and seems to have been so from ancient times on far more definite evidence in China than in the Occident, a cult of the living in the service of reincarnation. However, this cult of reincarnation frequently assumes, in a manner that is of peculiar interest to us, the form of a cult of the soil or the tilth. Marcel Granet, in his brief and highly interesting, popularly written presentation of this subject in "*La religion des Chinois*" (Paris 1922), emphasizes this fact, and actually states, when speaking of the form taken by the cult of ancestral spirits during the feudal period (800—200 B. C.): "From the very beginning this cult and the agrarian cults were based on a community of interests and responsibilities."¹)

Granet demonstrates in his animated style, and on evidence the correctness of which in its details I have no means of judging, but which coincides in a remarkable manner with my own conception of the problems he deals with, how in primitive times — that is to say, long before the feudal era — the life of the Chinese peasant was closely bound up in the two great annual feasts, the Spring Festival and the Autumn Festival. The Spring Festival gave the signal for all life to be renewed; it was celebrated when the ice began to melt on the rivers and the water came to life again, when the first soft, fructifying rain fell, when the first spring flowers began to shoot and the foliage was renewed, when the plum and peach trees blossomed, the swallows returned, and the birds began

¹) *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

mating and building their nests.¹⁾ It was then that the people were summoned to the holy places of worship, which at the same time became the rendez-vous of youths and maidens from different villages. No man could choose a wife, and no woman a husband, out of their own village, for they were far too closely related to the other young people in the village — brothers and sisters or cousins. Marriage was only possible by exchange between neighbouring villages, in the earliest times, when matriarchy prevailed, by the young people's removing to a fresh village community, and in the later period by the girls' migrating to their new homes.²⁾ During the season when work was going on in the fields everyone was fully occupied, the men spending the night in miserable little cabins close to the fields, separated from their women and children, who lived in the hills and who only visited them to bring them food.³⁾ In the winter, however, when the men rested from their labours, just as the earth rested from hers, it was the women's turn to be fully occupied; they spun the year's crop, wove and sewed to meet the family needs in the way of clothing. The spring festival, celebrated at the place of worship, became the great matchmaker. "The word Spring signified the idea of love"⁴⁾, and at the spring feast of reincarnation the sexual rites were the most important of all: "Youths and maidens, as they themselves united on the holy ground, believed that their youthful marriage was a means of cooperating in the universal regeneration. Hopes of fecundity were cherished in their hearts; as the eggs they swallowed, the meteors they observed, the bunches of plantain they gathered in their laps, the flowers they offered to one another when plighting their troth, seemed to them to contain the principles of maturity, so they believed that their spring-time nuptials would assist the universal germination, which was the name they gave to the seasonal rain, and that finally, by edulcorating the earth, which no human hands may cultivate in the winter, they would bring fertility to the fields."⁵⁾ While the spring festival afforded the first occasion for meeting, the establishing of a family did not occur until after the autumn festival,⁶⁾ which was "a grand orgy of eating and drinking — — — it was the feast of re-cultivation and of the re-entry into the hamlet".⁷⁾ The peasant folk felt that they were in the closest communion with the ground they trod and the fields they harvested, and their close interdependence upon one another was due to the dependence of all upon the common earth.

"These acts of sexual communion, which were thus carried out in contact with the earth, gave rise to the idea of a communion with the Soil, that is to say, with

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 4, 11, 25.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 3 seq.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 14, cf. p. 7.

⁵⁾ Cf. the ritual nuptials held in the fields, mentioned above on p. 75.

⁶⁾ M. Granet, *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

⁷⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

the ground whereon the home was established. They took place in the dark corner of the house that served as the loft in which the grain was kept. — — — A real confusion and an exchange of attributes arose between the mothers of families, the female creators of the race, the housed grain and the domestic Soil, due to the contagious effect of these sacramental emotions. Elements of life existed within the seeds of corn as within the women; the grain that was placed near the nuptial couch fertilized the women; the women, guardians of the seed, conferred upon it the power to germinate; the grain gave nourishment; the women became nurses. The Earth was a Mother, a Nurse, sown with seed; in ten lunations she accomplishes the process of gestation, and the women imitate her; within Her all life was enclosed; through Her all life was evolved. She received the dead in her bosom and alone nourished the newborn during their first three days. She was a maternal Power, nurturing, life-giving. The race was born of her and drew its substance from her; contact with her was necessary at the decisive moments of existence — when one entered into the world or when one departed from it. The first care was to place the dying or the newborn on the ground. Being the supreme domestic power, the Earth alone could tell man whether birth or death were acceptable. She alone could withhold or vouchsafe the right to live within the family group. When, after three days of fasting on the domestic soil, the child, nourished by the Earth-Mother, had manifested by its lusty cries the power of life that it drew from her, its mother, following the precedence of the soil, was permitted to carry it; she was able to give it nourishment, and eventually the child itself was able to eat grain-food, thus being allowed to enter the group of the living. When the dying, placed upon the Soil, was no longer able to resuscitate life thereon in spite of the lamentations of the entire family, then, three days after death¹⁾, the body, having been once and for all expelled from the group of the living, was placed in the earth. The ceremony of burial was of a twofold character; the second interment took place, in historic times, outside the towns and villages, and the family cemetery was then a plot of ground which everyone who did not belong to the family was prohibited from entering; in ancient times it took place within the domestic enclosure. The first interment invariably took place within this enclosure and inside the house itself; it lasted during the time it took the flesh to decompose. The substance of death penetrated into the family Soil. The body became disincarnate near the dark corner where the corn was kept — the seeds of which, when placed in the earth, germinated; and in the same corner stood the nuptial couch whereon the women preserved fresh lives. They imagined therefore that their conception was the work of the Powers of Fecundity which emanated from the domestic Soil, that within that very Soil had germinated the life which they felt growing within them, and that finally the child that was born to them had become substantiated in the very substance of its ancestors. It was firmly believed that the principles of life permeated the dark corner in which the

¹⁾ Cf. J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. 1, Leyden (1892), p. 263.

ancestors had become disembodied; every birth appeared to be a reincarnation of an ancestor. As the women conceived in the home of their birth,¹⁾ it was the maternal line whose duty it was to accomplish these reincarnations; a newborn child was nothing but an ancestor who, after sojourning a while within the Earth-Mother, a common substance of maternal ancestors, once more resumed an individual life and reappeared within the living part of the family — the family substance was eternal like their Earth —. A death did not diminish it any more than a birth augmented it, but each member of the group passed by birth or death to a different form of existence. The family was divided into two sections — the one that of the living, the other that of the dead; nevertheless, they were closely united and formed an indiscriminate mass. — — — A cult of the ancestral dead and a cult of the domestic Soil were founded upon the belief that they had developed along parallel lines — the idea of the Earth-Mother owed its first elements to the representations of Her fashioned at the festivals of the Holy Places — ancestor worship always retains the aspect of a seasonal cult, the chief ceremonies in connection with which take place in the spring and autumn, just as it was in the Spring and Autumn that those gatherings were held in which the idea of reincarnation was first conceived.”²⁾

In the official religion of Confucius the two most important feasts of the year are the festival of the winter solstice and the festival of the summer solstice, on which occasions the Emperor made splendid offerings, at the former festival at the great T'ien T'an, the Heaven's place of sacrifice, and at the latter festival at Ti T'an, the Earth's place of sacrifice.

The festival of the winter solstice was thus celebrated when "Yang, the creative Heavenly Power, light and heat warmth, had reached his minimum and at the same time underwent his reincarnation".³⁾ Of the exceedingly abundant animal and vegetable offerings made to the gods with much elaborate ceremony, the Emperor's ancestors also received their allotted portion, and their soul-tablets were set up in places assigned for the purpose.⁴⁾ That the festival was of the nature of a festival of fertility is clear from the final prayer offered up by the Emperor and the officiating priests:

"To the centre of Heaven ascends the message that the sacrifice is accomplished, that the altar is now shrouded in darkness.

"Keep us ever in Thy thoughts and turn Thine eyes upon us; may the clouds that convey Thy blessings upon us be as countless as the waves of the ocean.

¹⁾ So long as the matriarchal system prevailed. Cf. above p. 87.

²⁾ M. Granet, *Op. cit.*, p. 25—29.

³⁾ J. J. M. de Groot, *Universalismus, die Grundlage der Religion und Ethik, des Staatswesens und der Wissenschaften Chinas*, Berlin (1918), p. 155 seq. Cf. p. 216.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* as in the above note, p. 160. Cf. p. 175 seq. on the subject of consuming the so-called "auspicious flesh", taken from the altar of sacrifice.

"Thy servant prays for Thy favour at each season of the year; give earnest heed to the fragrance that arises from the smoke of his marriage feast.

"He hopes for abundant growth everywhere and for a multiplication of the virtues that surround the world of Thy servants.

"O Heaven! Extend Thy blessings so that the Earth may bring forth and all field crops may grow in richness and abundance!

"Help my good people, so that they may enjoy true peace and real repose."

At the time of the summer solstice is celebrated, as mentioned above, the great sacrificial feast dedicated to the Earth, and on this occasion too the Imperial soul-tablets take part in the ceremony.¹⁾ The last day of the year²⁾ was likewise ordained to be a day of sacrifice on behalf of the Imperial ancestors in conjunction with the special Ts'ing-Ming festival, a Day of All Souls, to which I shall revert below (p. 95).

As will no doubt be realized from the above, the Chinese belief in a life after death is unshakable. The predominant idea appears to be that which stands out so clearly in the above quotation (p. 73) — the idea of a new birth, a reincarnation, a process usually indicated by the phrase "t'ou t'ai", "to make ones' way into a uterus".³⁾ The soul can thus take up its dwelling within another body whose soul has lately migrated.⁴⁾ But the survivors need never abandon the hope of witnessing the soul of the dead returning to its own former corporeal covering. Innumerable stories of the resurrection of the dead might be quoted. The Christian missionary in China must not be surprised, says de Groot⁵⁾, if his preaching about the Resurrection of Christ attracts but little attention, for to the Chinese similar miracles are of almost daily occurrence.

A reincarnation, however, of whatsoever nature it may be, does not take place of itself. The burial rites prescribed by the Chinese religion are of a peculiarly extensive and intensive character, indeed for the survivors they are extremely onerous, and were still more so in olden times. We must here confine ourselves to indicating only a few broad features in addition to what has already been described above.

The first attempt to recall the dead to life is made as soon as the dead has breathed his last, when those standing round him endeavour with loud cries to invoke the departing soul to return.⁶⁾ This lament for the dead one finds repeatedly, as is universally known, at all epochs, both old and new, in the East. One of the first and most important acts performed on the body of the dead is the ablution. This was carried out during the Chou Dynasty (1122—249 B. C.), as

¹⁾ De Groot, *Universismus*, p. 192.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in the above note, p. 216.

³⁾ J. J. M. de Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 4, Leyden (1901), p. 143.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 134.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 124.

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, vol. 1, p. 10 and 243 seq.

far as the masters rulers were concerned, by washing the body with rice-water and millet wine¹⁾, after which rice was placed in the dead man's mouth and scorched grain inserted beside it. The custom of inserting in the dead person's mouth things calculated to promote fertility, primarily rice²⁾ and cowrie shells³⁾, recurs constantly in China both in ancient and modern times. These substances are exchanged from time to time for other objects, chiefly jade, that stone being a symbol for Heaven. "Heaven is jade, is gold"⁴⁾; Heaven, which is identical with *yang*, is the "depository of all life in Nature, of the vital energy which Nature deals out over the world"⁵⁾. De Groot points out that in the province of Fukien a ring of jade was placed round the arm or ankle⁶⁾ of the dead. It is very probable that the much discussed jade objects occurring in the prehistoric graves of Europe⁷⁾ dating from the Stone Age, and which are generally in the form of either miniature axes or very large and beautifully made axes, and also occasionally in the form of rings⁸⁾, have possessed the same significance. Similar amulets may also be cited from the Near East⁹⁾. Another symbol for *yang* that is also used for a similar purpose is various kinds of pearls, which were said to be capable of containing so much "*yang-matter*" that they "emitted rays of light"¹⁰⁾. When money¹¹⁾ is used in a similar way it is as an heir to the cowrie in its character of current coin, in its turn undoubtedly a secondary significance acquired by the cowrie thanks to its power of bestowing fertility, that is to say, abundance. The custom of placing food in the mouth of the dead has ceased, in the Amoy district for instance, but food, such as boiled rice and beans¹²⁾, is still placed beside the dead. The dead was and is provided with food not only immediately after death, before he is placed in the coffin, but also afterwards.¹³⁾ The food is either placed in the coffin¹⁴⁾ or else

¹⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 12 seq.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in the above note pp. 20, 276 seq. Cf. also p. 356 seq.

³⁾ Concerning the symbolical significance of the cowrie see my above-quoted paper, p. 103.

⁴⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 271. Cf. B. Karlgren, *Some fecundity symbols in ancient China* in vol. II of this bulletin.

⁵⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, pp. 22, 271 seq.

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 279.

⁷⁾ Germany, Belgium, France, Italy, Switzerland. Cf. C. H. Read, *British Museum, A Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age* (1921), pp. 94, 122, 140; J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, I, Paris (1908), see Index général: jade, jadéite; F. v. Duhn, *Italische Gräberkunde*, I, Heidelberg (1924), see Sachregister: Jadeitbeilchen, Nephritaxt.

⁸⁾ Déchelette, *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 521 seq.

⁹⁾ Above-mentioned *British Museum Guide*, p. 121.

¹⁰⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 277.

¹¹⁾ Also silver pieces; *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 278. Cf. p. 358.

¹²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 29. Cf. p. 359.

¹³⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, pp. 360, 99.

¹⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, vol. 2, p. 363.

in the grave¹⁾, and consists principally of various kinds of grain and rice²⁾, and sacrifices continue to be made on repeated occasions in the form of food laid on the graves of the dead, as for instance at the festival of "Ts'ing Ming" (cf. p. 95 below).

One of the manifestly life-giving "death customs" is, moreover, the dress in which the dead one is clothed, it being the custom for both men and women at death to be clothed in the apparel they wore at their wedding³⁾, and which on that occasion indicated that the young couple then became "individuals of full virility"⁴⁾. The female bride-and-death dress amongst the wealthier classes is extraordinarily beautiful, being richly embroidered with signs that symbolize and evoke abundance, etc., such as the dragon, the producer of the fertilizing rain⁵⁾, the pheasant (the phoenix), the supreme symbol of "matrimonial felicity"⁶⁾. Jade ornaments are of frequent occurrence. Of special importance are the hairpins, which are often ornamented with all kinds of symbolical signs having the same significance, such as a stag, a tortoise, a crane, a stork, a peach. The symbolical significance of these objects is of ancient origin. The philosopher Liu Hsiang, who lived in the first century B. C., mentions in his "*Traditions concerning the Lives of the Immortals*" that the stag becomes blue after a thousand years. Liu An, who lived in the 2nd century B. C., says of the tortoise that it lives to be three thousand years old. The crane and the stork are said to become blue after a thousand years and black after two thousand years. Furthermore, the sign for "hok" or "hoh" (crane) is in several dialects synonymous with that meaning happiness and prosperity; the stork's and crane's important function in the popular belief of the Western World is too well known to need repeating here. As to the peach tree, that too is a symbol for long life; Thus, it is related in the "*Canon of Curious Things connected with Spirits*", by Shen i King, in the fourth or fifth century B. C., how there existed a peach tree that was 500 feet high and whose leaves were 8 feet and its fruits more than 3 feet long, and that the elixir of life could be produced from the fruit-stone.⁷⁾

Again, when making coffins for the dead one would preferably select a kind of wood that (to quote de Groot) "might facilitate their return to life".⁸⁾ It is believed that the evergreen pines and cypresses in particular possess this power, and they are supposed to be very long-lived. This is reminiscent of the signifi-

¹⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 2, p. 382 seq.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 386.

³⁾ Cf. a similar custom in Sweden, p. 81.

⁴⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 47.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 53. About the dragon as "the male fecundity symbol" cf. B. Karlgren, *Op. cit.*, p. 36 seq.

⁶⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 53 seq.

⁷⁾ Cf. B. Karlgren. *Op. cit.*, p. 37. Concerning these hairpins and their symbolism see de Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 55 seq.

⁸⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 294.

cance of cypresses as sepulchral trees both in the East and in the West. The *Han Wu-ti nei chuan* contains a story from the reign of the Emperor Wu (140—86 B. C.) of a legendary queen who reigned over those immortal beings who ate the resin of pinetrees and cypresses, "because this can prolong life".¹⁾ During the Han dynasty, "Long Life to the Emperor" was toasted in wine prepared from cypress leaves. There is a great deal of further evidence as to the wonderful properties of these trees, which might be cited from different centuries, right down from Chu Pien's story of the statesman and poet Su Tung-p'o (1036—1101), who wrote: "The blessings bestowed upon mankind by the Pine are very numerous. Its flowers, its juice, and the fungus which grows at its roots, if consumed, all prolong life", up to a more modern era, when the standard work on medicinal botany "*Pen-ts'ao kang mu*" declares that "The juice of the Pine, when consumed, for a long time renders the body light, prevents man from growing old and lengthens his life — — —. And Cypress seeds, if consumed for a long period, render a man hale and healthy — — — they cause his body to lose its weight and prolong his life"²⁾. It was not always sufficient merely to make the coffin and sepulchral vault out of these kinds of wood. It is related from the Han period how in the graves of eminent persons there were also placed round about the coffin additional pieces of cypress wood, taken from as near the root as possible, since these older and thicker parts of the tree contained a greater store of vitality than the younger parts. Another such life-giving kind of wood is that of the evergreen camphor tree.³⁾

All these efforts to provide the dead with life-giving substances culminated in China, as in the West in ancient times, in the living human sacrifices in the graves of distinguished persons. It was the wives, concubines and slaves who thus accompanied the dead into the grave. De Groot quotes from literary sources known cases of human sacrifices of this kind. When in 677 B. C. Wu, the conqueror of the State of Ts'in, died, 66 people were buried with him.⁴⁾ His nephew Mu, who died in 619 B. C., was lamented on a much more brilliant scale, being accompanied into the land of the dead by no less than 177 victims. This cruel custom has survived into quite late times; there are many known instances to confirm it, and some of them may be quoted here. When T'ai Tsu, the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty, died in 1398, he was accompanied into the grave by a large number of women belonging to the palace. Even as late as 1661 — according to one authority — one of the wives of the Manchu Emperor Shun-chi was at the order of the Emperor, accompanied into the grave by thirty young girls. But when in 1718 the Emperor Kang-hi's mother died, the Emperor forbade the four girls

¹⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 297.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 299 seq.

³⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 301.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, vol. 2, p. 721.

who desired to lay down their lives for her to carry out their intention.¹⁾ Many examples can also be quoted from later times of cases in which near relations, wives, daughters or faithful female slaves have cast themselves into the dead person's still open grave or by some means or other taken their own lives in order to be allowed to accompany the object of their loyalty into the grave²⁾. Sometimes this act of self-sacrifice took place while the person who gave up his or her life held in the hand the "soul-tablet" of the dead, in which the soul is believed to dwell after burial³⁾. We find a humanized form of this sacrifice to the dead in the custom of burying the wife in her husband's grave should she have survived him and die a natural death⁴⁾.

A form of self-sacrifice of a peculiar nature is that entailed in the custom, practised especially in high-born families, according to which, if an engaged youth dies, his betrothed, clothed in bridal dress, is united with him by the same ceremonies as those performed at a wedding, and beside his coffin participates in a marriage feast at a "table at which the marriage is sealed by means of rice-spirits". The dead is believed to be present in an invisible form or through the medium of his "soul-tablet". The "death-bride" then removes to the parental home of the dead young man, puts on widow's weeds and plays the part of a daughter-in-law in the house, receiving on behalf of herself and her dead husband a "continuator".⁵⁾

"Human immolations at burials naturally imply the prevalence of a conception that it is urgently necessary to be accompanied into the next life by a wife or concubine, to prevent one's being doomed there to the dreary life of a solitary widower", says de Groot.⁶⁾ He then proceeds to describe what happened at a remarkable kind of post-mortem marriage declared to have been a practice in China. A sufficient number of cases are cited to establish the fact that this custom was a universal one, but we shall only quote one or two instances here.⁷⁾ Ping Yüan's young daughter died at the same time as the most beloved son of the Emperor T'ai Tsu (220—227 B. C.). The Emperor desired them to be buried in the same grave, but as Yüan refused, the Emperor's son was buried together with a daughter of the Chen family who had just died. And when Shu, the young daughter of the Emperor Ming (227—239 B. C.), died, there was buried with her a Huang, who was practically a baby and was a grandson of the Empress Chen's brother. By this means the child Huang received the posthumous title of Imperial Prince and "Continuator with the hereditary rank of a noble." From the

¹⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, p. 734.

²⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 735 seq.

³⁾ For the "soul-tablet" see de Groot's above-cited work, vol. 1, pp. 142 and 218.

⁴⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 2, p. 800.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 763 seq.

⁶⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 802.

⁷⁾ Cf. *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 803 seq.

Sung period a contemporary work relates that, when in the northern parts of the country a young boy and a girl die at the same time, their parents appoint a so-called "match-maker for disembodied souls" to arrange the match, after which lots are cast to see whether the marriage will be a happy one. Wine and fruits are placed in the young boy's grave to serve as a marriage feast. Two seats are arranged side by side and a small pennant is placed at each seat. If the pennants move when the drink offering has been made it is believed that the souls have come into contact with one another.¹⁾ So essential was it, apparently, for the unmarried not to have to rest alone in the grave that this custom of performing a post-mortem marriage was carried to such lengths that, if no suitable simultaneously deceased person of the opposite sex was available, it could happen that an old grave was opened and the coffin transferred to the grave of the newly deceased. During the time of the Chou Dynasty it was the duty of the official responsible for the marriage arrangements to see that no already interred women were removed from their graves and assigned to dead minors as their lawful wives.²⁾

A much attenuated representative form of sacrifice to the dead occurs in the depositing of certain pictures in the graves, such as "souls" of straw and human effigies³⁾, or the hanging up of pictures in sepulchral vaults or on graves. King Ai, (about 300 B. C.), had in his grave a whole harem of forty female stone statues, placed at the further end of the crypt, which was probably intended as a bed-chamber⁴⁾.

Although further examples might be cited of funeral ceremonies borrowed from the sphere of the fertility cult, yet those already quoted above may suffice to show what a predominating — not to say all-powerful — influence these ceremonies have exercised in China in both ancient and modern times.

I have indicated in the foregoing how the worship of ancestral spirits plays a definite part in the great annual fertility festivals in China. I have next shown how the Chinese funeral ritual embodies nothing but fertility-promoting and life-giving rites, and I shall conclude by identifying these two facts as one, demonstrating how the festival that is now essentially devoted to the dead was originally simply a festival in honour of Life.⁵⁾ The annually recurring feast of the dead, Ts'ing Ming, corresponding to All Souls' Day, is celebrated about the 5th April and coincides with the season when the grass begins to get green (*Ts'ing*) and the air is clear (*ming*), so that originally the idea of the festival was to welcome the

¹⁾ Concerning pennants borne in funeral processions and believed to be the abode of the dead person's soul, see de Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 1, pp. 125, 174.

²⁾ De Groot, *Religious System*, vol. 2, p. 802.

³⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 807 seq.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.* as in prec. note, p. 811.

⁵⁾ Cf. B. Karlgren, *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

rebirth of the Sun.¹⁾ The Festival, which dates back to primitive times is ushered in by heralds, striking wooden bells; in other respects it somewhat resembles our Swedish Easter celebrations. Thus, all meat being forbidden, only eggs are eaten, and it is customary to paint them different colours. Eggs are considered to be the food elect because the cock is a creature that is dedicated to the Sun. On the morning of that day everyone goes out to the burial ground, places offerings of food on the graves — meat, fish, birds, cakes and wine. On the graves are set up bamboo canes to which are attached long white paper streamers²⁾, fireworks are let off, the ground round the graves is tidied up, so that the dead may have no difficulty in rising from them. The graves are swept with willow brooms etc. According to Navarra the willow is believed to possess the power of expelling demons — due doubtless to the fact that in early times it represented a form of Tree of Life — and even to this day willow twigs are placed over the doors, and the women carry small bunches of willow in their hair³⁾.

After this excursion on Chinese ground, which in my view still further emphasizes the important part played by the fertility rites in the cult of the dead and explains how it is that the dead participate in the fertility festival, I shall now proceed to discuss what in my opinion is a subsidiary problem to the Christmas customs, but which some students consider a problem of first-rate importance.

CHRISTMAS CUSTOMS REGARDED AS A MEANS OF PROTECTION.

Now it happens, if for instance you ask some Swede why spruce twigs are strewn before the hearse, that the answer will be that it is done so that the deceased shall prick himself on the needles and not walk again. "Well, you see", says someone, "in the case of strewing spruce branches at funerals the branches are prophylactic and avert evil, so why is it a fertility rite in Christmas customs? How fantastic and irreconcilable the old customs are!" In my earlier paper I have already answered the question, and in this connection⁴⁾ I will only repeat that I am convinced that the protective significance is secondary. In the case of practically all fertility-promoting objects or ornaments, and even rites, it proves that at a later stage they have been conceived as amulets, rites, etc., with prophylactic meaning, whether they are called "protection against the evil eye" or something else. This development is quite consistent, in that what is life-giving or regenerating is in itself the best protection against evil and the powers of destruction. With this I have seemingly passed on to a third side of Christmas customs, which is also usually mentioned. "With this (Christmas) hovering about

¹⁾ B. Navarra, *China und die Chinesen*, Bremen (1901), p. 368.

²⁾ Cf. the pennants mentioned on p. 95 above.

³⁾ Concerning the sacrifices offered at the Imperial graves on this day see de Groot, *Universismus*, pp. 212 and 216.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 112 et seq.

of spirits and ghosts, which abound in space at this time, everything must necessarily be soiled and contaminated", says N. Keyland.¹⁾ "As one prepares for an epidemic of influenza or other disease by thorough disinfection, so ought the critical period to be ushered in by a general tidying-up of everything in the house and by bodily cleansing, followed by the observance of every possible precaution and by the employment of every protective measure available. By the doors steel was placed or crosses were drawn in tar, they tried to force the stock to eat balls of tar, poles of various shapes were set up in the yard, fires were made and lighted up around them, all to neutralize the harmful effects of the uncalled — for invasion of the invisible powers." It is very probable that this is how the country people who observed these customs in later times explained them, but this does not establish their spiritual meaning. Two pieces of information about the same thing from the same district may be found side by side. Hylthén-Cavallius writes that "the cross of straw was placed on the fields as a protection against all sorts of spells"; and J. J. Törner, on superstition in Småland, notes "a cross of the Christmas straw must be placed on the field and on fruit trees, for thereby everything is blessed". H. Celander, who cites this, makes the following reflection²⁾ "The same two-fold power of promoting fertility and warding off dangerous powers that was ascribed to the midsummer branches placed in the form of a cross was also ascribed to the cross of Christmas straw". "The straw cross above the door has probably played almost the same part as the cross painted in tar as a protection against all the powers of evil which might want to force their way into the house". In this connection it is expressly said that both in Småland and Västergötland they wish to protect themselves against evil influences from the dead with these straw crosses". It is true that both meanings may run parallel, but it has only been up to a certain period and a comparatively late one. The original meaning is evident. Cf. above, p. 73.³⁾

"The protective measures taken for the security of the domestic animals against all the dangers of Christmas night form an extremely large and varied group among the Christmas Eve customs in the stables and farmyards", says H. Celander in another place.⁴⁾ "Steel is found in many forms, an axe (knife, scythe) being usually placed over the door of the cow-house . . . In a parish in Scania the cows received a slice of the Christmas bread as an extra treat, and this was held out to them on a darning-needle, so that they should not be exposed to any

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 94 et seq.

³⁾ I will not discuss here whether, as H. Celander considers, the form of a cross has a strengthening significance. It is of course not improbable. It is an open question whether it is correct to consider — as is probably often done — that it is an imitation of the Christian cross. In discussing Christmas customs in particular, we must not forget that the cross has also been the symbol of the sun. It is certain that the Crusading Brothers are of an earlier date than Christian times.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 94 et seq.

work of the devil." Among other customs it is mentioned that in Norway "corn was thrown into the horses' manes . . . to protect them from witches, who might otherwise take them and ride on them, and similarly over the cow's backs. In the first-mentioned case the steel is certainly of secondary protective importance in comparison with the axe, scythe or sickle, and the protective importance of all of them is secondary to their fertility importance, for as such the axe, which later becomes the symbol of the god Thor, has extremely ancient traditions as regards its importance for fertility.¹⁾ And the scythe, which is associated with the cult of Frigga and Frey²⁾, will probably have a similar significance. In the other example quoted above, the fertility-promoting Christmas bread is of course of primary importance, that of the needle having arisen later. There need be no doubt as to the original significance of the corn when it was thrown over the horses and cows.

Although many other more or less varying examples could be adduced, these should be sufficient to show that this group of Christmas customs can quite naturally and logically be grouped under the primary importance of Christmas as a fertility festival. The constantly recurring primary and secondary relation between the fertility significance and the prophylactic significance of objects, rites etc., is even so striking that in later times an asserted prophylactic significance of an object or a rite seems to indicate in itself an earlier fertility significance.³⁾

¹⁾ My paper cited here, p. 99 et seq.

²⁾ As note above, p. 86.

³⁾ Note that a similar importance is ascribed to the Easter egg; Louise Hagberg, *Påskäggen och deras hedniska ursprung* in *Fataburen* 1906, p. 148 et seq.

UN GROUPE DE BRONZES ANCIENS PROPRES À L'EXTRÊME-ASIE MÉRIDIONALE

PAR

OLOV JANSE

AVANT-PROPOS DE J. G. ANDERSSON

L'étude des antiquités chinoises se bornait, il y a quelques années, presque exclusivement à déterminer leur chronologie en relation avec les diverses dynasties.

Pendant les dix dernières années on s'est aperçu qu'il faut étendre les recherches pour essayer de distinguer l'aire géographique des différents groupes de civilisation qui ont co-existé dans ce vaste monde qu'était l'ancien empire chinois quand il était à son apogée, p. ex. à l'époque des Han.

Il est possible aujourd'hui de distinguer un certain nombre de groupes de civilisation assez bien délimités au point de vue géographique et qui peuvent être assignés à cette époque ou plutôt à une période qui commence vers l'an 500 avant J.-C. et qui finit vers l'an 500 après J.-C. C'est surtout l'étude de petits bronzes qui permet de déterminer ces divers groupes.

Le premier de ceux-ci appartient évidemment à la région du cours inf.r du Hoang-ho, entre les provinces du Honan, Shansi et Shensi, centre de la civilisation chinoise. C'est là que s'est formée à l'époque des Yin et des Chou la civilisation classique chinoise. C'est là que se produisit, en partie sous des influences étrangères, une renaissance dans le domaine politique, littéraire et surtout artistique et qui caractérisaient l'époque des Ch'in et des Han.

Pendant la dernière décade, MM. Minns, Rostovtzeff et Borovka ont démontré qu'il existe un groupe de civilisation appartenant aux marches mongoles de la Chine proprement dite et dont l'art se distingue nettement de celui de la Chine centrale, mais qui a, par contre, de très grandes affinités avec l'art de la Sibérie du Sud et aussi une certaine ressemblance avec l'art scythe. A l'instar de M. Hubert Schmidt et d'autres savants, je considère que l'art de ce groupe de la marche sino-mongole doit être dénommé le style animal eurasiatique, qui, les premiers siècles avant et après J.-C., était en vogue dans toute cette région des steppes qui s'étend de la Mer Noire jusqu'à l'Océan pacifique. En 1929 j'ai dénommé ce groupe "Sui-yüan", mais pour des raisons que je donne dans un travail qui va paraître, "Hunting Magic in the Eurasian Animal Style", je proposerais de remplacer cette dénomination par une autre, qui, selon nos dernières expériences, nous paraît plus adéquate: la province d'Ordos.

Grâce à deux exquis collections d'antiquités, réunies par M. O. Karlbeck, l'une acquise en 1922 par feu la Comtesse W. von Hallwyl, l'autre en 1926 par le Musée

des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, nous pouvons considérer comme établi qu'il existe un art particulier, apparenté à celui dit Ch'in (Chine du Nord), mais bien nettement caractérisé et qui fleurissait dans la vallée du Huai-ho, entre les provinces du Honan, Anhui et Kiangsu. Ce groupe, que nous pouvons dénommer de Huai-ho, comporte notamment des miroirs, minces et d'un style gracieux, des armes et de menus objets en bronze, faits à la fonte d'une exécution parfaite, pourvus souvent d'une très jolie patine grisâtre bien caractéristique ("water-patina").

A en juger par quelques objets que le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient a acquis ces dernières années, il nous paraît possible d'entrevoir l'existence d'un petit groupe de menus objets en bronze qui ont été trouvés dans les régions qui s'étendent des deux côtés du cours inférieur du Yang-tsé-kiang. Ces monuments sont ornés d'un motif caractéristique qui comporte des doubles spirales. Les objets qui peuvent constituer un tel groupe sont pourtant très peu nombreux.

Depuis longtemps nous connaissons, par contre, un groupe remarquable de monuments qui caractérisent l'Extrême-Asie méridionale, savoir les tambours en bronze qui ont été étudiés notamment par MM. Heger et Parmentier.

En 1926 le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient a reçu, à titre de don de M^{me} Signe Bergner, un très joli celt (n:o 10616) que M^{me} Bergner avait acquis à Yünnanfu. Aussi bien par son décor que par sa jolie patine, cet objet attirait notre attention. Il a été publié par M. Janse (*Antiquités chinoises* etc. dans ce Bulletin n:o 2, Pl. I: 1).

Pendant mon séjour à Peking, en 1927, j'y ai acheté chez un marchand d'antiquités, la hache en bronze (n:o 10442) que M. Janse décrit dans cet article, p. 112, Pl. XII, XIII. Cette pièce, dont la pointe de la lame fait défaut et dont la cassure a été transformée, présente un décor très caractéristique et exceptionnellement riche. Son décor ressemble d'un côté à celui du celt dont nous venons de parler, de l'autre côté au décor des tambours de la Chine du Sud. Dans une conférence, faite au Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient en janvier 1928, je me suis permis d'émettre l'opinion que la hache acquise à Peking provient vraisemblablement de la Chine sud-occidentale. Ensuite j'ai émis une hypothèse selon laquelle il existe dans la Chine du Sud et notamment dans la Chine sud-occidentale une province d'art particulier caractérisée par de petits bronzes d'un type spécial et des tambours.

Lorsque M. O. Karlbeck avec l'aide de quelques mécènes suédois entreprit en 1929 et 1930 un voyage en Chine pour faire des collections d'antiquités, je lui ai demandé d'aller à Yünnanfu pour y chercher des armes et d'autres petits bronzes. Son voyage fut très fructueux et il rapportait du Yünnan les objets des Pl. II, VII: 1—5, IX: 1, X: 2, 3, XV: 3, 4, XVII: 1, 2 et fig. 9, 25, 27, que M. Janse décrit ici. Il nous adressa aussi le croquis d'une arme en bronze, conservée au Musée de Hanoi. Cette pièce est d'une grande importance pour tout ce problème et se rapproche si étroitement de la hache, Pl. XII, XIII, achetée à Peking, que la

provenance de celle-ci (Chine sud-occidentale) peut être considérée comme réellement établie. Ultérieurement M. Janse a reçu de M. Goloubew la reproduction de cette arme, citée ici fig. 11.

Pendant une visite à Paris en 1929 j'ai vu, aussi bien au Musée Cernuschi qu'au Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye un nombre de bronzes provenant de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale dont les formes (celts asymétriques) et le décor (tresses et cervidés) sont caractéristiques pour l'art ancien du Yünnan et de l'Indo-Chine française. Plus tard M. Goloubew dans un important travail qui vient de paraître "*L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam*" in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX (1929) a étudié la question des bronzes de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale.

C'est en 1929 que j'ai proposé à M. Janse, intimement lié à la science française et qui collaborait alors avec nous pour étudier nos armes en bronze, de réunir autant de matériaux que possible, ayant trait aux bronzes de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale pour faire une étude de l'archéologie de cette province, si peu connue, et d'en établir les traits les plus caractéristiques (cf. p. 137 sqs).

J. G. A.

Le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient (Stockholm) possède un certain nombre de bronzes anciens qui proviennent du Yünnan ainsi que de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale et qui constituent, comme il ressort de l'avant-propos de M. J. G. Andersson, un groupe particulier dont l'étude peut fournir des données nouvelles.

Nous sommes redevable à M. J. G. Andersson d'avoir bien voulu nous suggérer l'idée de les décrire ici. Nous le remercions aussi sincèrement de tous les précieux renseignements qu'il nous a donnés.

Parmi les objets en question nous pouvons distinguer plusieurs catégories. Commençons par celle des

HACHES ASYMÉTRIQUES.

Parmi celles-ci nous pouvons distinguer plusieurs types. L'un des plus caractéristiques est celui que nous dénommons pédiforme.

Nous entendons par là des haches ou pics d'arme dont nos Pl. I—III peuvent donner une idée. Notre Musée en possède deux exemplaires.

L'un d'eux, reproduit ici Pl. II, est pourvu d'une douille presque quadrangulaire placée en biais. Le tranchant qui court le long du rebord inférieur est à simple biseau (cf. Pl. II: a). Cette pièce est dépourvue de décor. Patine vert foncé et couleur du laiton. Longueur 160 millimètres; hauteur 85 millimètres. Acquis à Yünnanfu. N:o 11034: 103.

L'autre objet, Pl. III: 2 a—c, est également pourvu d'une douille à coupe quadrangulaire, mais celle-ci est disposée verticalement. Sur l'une des faces elle est

ornée d'une croix en bas relief. Le point de croisement des bras est réuni par une nervure verticale à un bourrelet qui court le long de l'orifice de la douille. Au dessous de ce motif nous voyons quelques lignes en bas relief presque effacées et en forme d'un Y, Pl. III: 2 b.

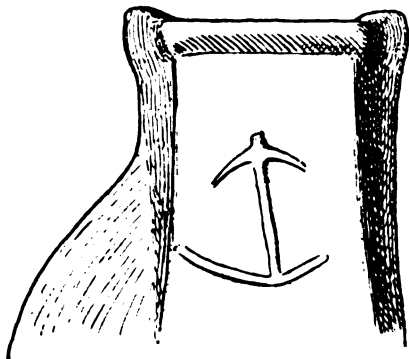


Fig. 1. Détail de la hache, reproduite Pl. III: 2, mais vue de l'autre face. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

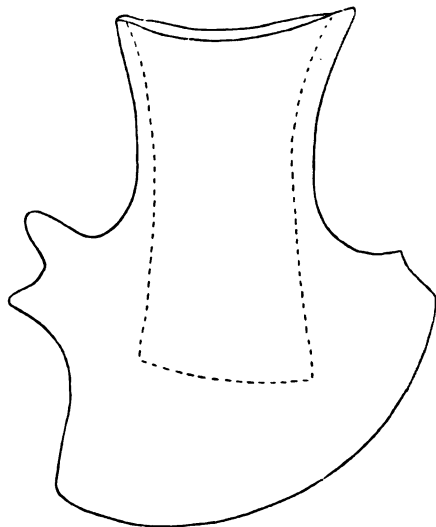


Fig. 2. Hache en bronze. Provenance: Manwyne, vallée de Sanda (Yünnan), Chine. D'après John Anderson, *A Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan viâ Bhamô*, Pl. V.

Sur l'autre face nous voyons quelques bourrelets presque en forme d'ancre, fig. 1. Deux côtés de la douille sont légèrement voutés et pourvus dans leur milieu d'une nervure qui court dans le sens de la longueur de la douille. Le tranchant est de même que celui de la pièce précédente à simple biseau, Pl. III: 2 a. Patine brunâtre. Longueur 85 millimètres. Provenance inconnue. N:o 4434: 12. Don de M. Lyckholm, Gothembourg.¹⁾

Nous connaissons aussi une hache pédiforme, fig. 2, qui provient de Manwyne, vallée de Sanda (Yünnan). Elle a été décrite par John Anderson²⁾ de la façon suivante: "The notch of the inferior end of the cutting edge is another feature peculiar to this bronze weapon, which appears to belong to a type unrepresented in the bronzes of Europe. The forked process and the shallow notch terminating the cutting edge below seem to have been more for ornament than use."

¹⁾ L'objet en question a appartenu antérieurement à la collection dite de Li-Hung-Chang.

²⁾ *A Report on the Expedition to Western Yunan viâ Bhamô* (Calcutta 1871), p. 415, Pl. V. Trois pièces analogues, offertes à John Anderson, n'ont pas été acquises à cause de leur prix élevé.

"It is certainly remarkable that the composition of this bronze is the same as that which characterises the bronze implements found throughout Northern Europe, the percentage being copper 90, tin 10 = 100."

Une pièce, analogue à celle de la vallée de Sanda a été découverte à Hotha, Etat du Nord des Shans, Birmanie.¹⁾

En Chine, les haches pédiformes ne semblent pas être fréquentes hors du Yünnan. Une pièce qui peut-être appartient à ce groupe d'objets provient pourtant de Lo-yang (Honan). Le monument en question, Pl. III: 1 a, b, est fragmentaire, mais on ne saurait douter qu'il s'agisse d'une hache asymétrique. La douille, coupée en biais dans le haut, est carrée.

Sur l'une des faces nous voyons près de l'orifice une légère saillie pointue et arrondie et au dessous d'elle un bourrelet parallèle au rebord de l'orifice. Une nervure médiane qui prend naissance dans la partie inférieure de la douille, continue jusqu'au tranchant qui, lui, est, de même que celui des haches reproduites Pl. II, III: 2, à simple biseau, Pl. III: 1 a.

L'autre côté est pourvu d'une nervure médiane, placée en face de celle dont nous venons de parler. Patine noire et verdâtre. Par endroits un enduit vert clair et d'un brun jaunâtre. La douille est perforée de deux trous irréguliers, un de chaque côté. Longueur totale de la hache 105 millimètres. N:o 11071: 98.

Les haches pédiformes sont particulièrement fréquentes en Indo-Chine. Le Musée des antiquités nationales, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, et le Musée Cernuschi, Paris, en possèdent plusieurs dont nous en reproduisons quelques exemplaires, Pl. I: 4, IV: 1—3, V: 1—3, 6. La plupart de ces objets proviennent de l'ancienne collection de M. V. Demange (Epinal) et ont été réunis à Phu Groé Oai et à l'ouest de Hanoi.

Il ne sera peut-être pas sans intérêt de jeter un coup d'œil sur le décor de la hache, Pl. I: 2 (du même type que celui de la Pl. I: 4). Nous y voyons deux animaux cornus, assez stylisés, l'un placé derrière l'autre. Le même type d'animaux, Pl. I: 1, sont représentés sur un tambour acquis de la bronzerie de Long Doison ou du village de Ngoc-lu (province de Ha-nam) Tonkin et conservé au Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi, (n:o D 6214)²⁾. Les animaux sont tous cornus et semblent être alternativement de sexe masculin et de sexe féminin. Ce sont peut-être des rennes, car ces animaux sont les seuls cervidés chez lesquels la femelle porte des bois. H. Parmentier a signalé celle et d'autres similitudes curieuses qui existent entre le décor des haches anciennes en bronze de Tonkin et les figurations des plus anciens tambours.³⁾

Une hache pédiforme, fig. 3, conservée au Museum d'Histoire naturelle (Paris), provient du pays des Ba-Huars et des Reungao, plateau d'Attopeu (Annam).

¹⁾ *British Museum. A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze age* (1920), fig. 193.

²⁾ Cf. H. Parmentier, *Anciens tambours de bronze* in *B. E. F. E. O.* 1918.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 17, 18.

Quelques haches en pierre, à soie carrée, côtés plats et à biseau simple et double proviennent de cette même localité.

M. V. Goloubew a appelé l'attention sur le fait que des haches du même type que celui que nous venons de décrire, sont reproduites sur le gong en bronze de Hanoi dont nous venons de parler. Sur cette pièce nous voyons comment ces haches ont été montées; "... on les fixait à un manche recourbé et fourchu dont un bout s'enfonçait dans la douille. On peut se demander si ce genre de montage n'était pas réservé aux haches utilisées en guise d'armes de jet comme la *cateia* des guerriers celtiques et le bumerang des Australiens. Parfois aussi on avait recours à une pièce de bois perpendiculaire au manche proprement dit¹⁾.

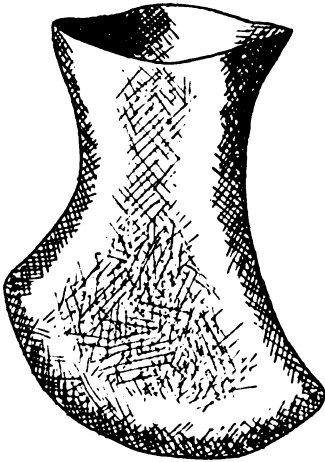


Fig. 3. Hache pédiforme en bronze. Provenance: pays des Ba-Huars et des Reungao, plateau d'Attopeu (Annam). Museum d'Histoire naturelle (Paris). D'après un dessin fait par l'auteur. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

Signalons à propos du rapprochement entre les haches pédiformes et la *cateia* celtique que fait M. Goloubew qu'il existe au Musée Historique (Stockholm) une hache pédiforme à douille, Pl. I: 3 a, b. Elle est en fer et date de l'époque de la Tène. Elle a été trouvée dans une sépulture à Rasagården, commune de Saleby, Vestrogothie, Suède sud-occidentale.²⁾ Je ne connais pas d'aut-

res pièces identiques à celle-ci, trouvées en Scandinavie, mais il en existe des exemplaires de formes semblables et à soie (voir *Fornvännen*, année 1906, p. 286, fig. 134; *ibid.* année 1913, p. 295, fig. 22). Peut-être s'agit-il ici aussi d'une arme de jet. Les anciens Scandinaves en ont connu. Ainsi p. ex. un des attributs du dieu Tor était une hache qui après avoir été lancée revenait dans la main du dieu. (Cf. *Skaldskaparmal*, 35.)

Il existe au Musée Historique (Stockholm) une trouvaille (n:o 6263) appartenant à l'époque des Vikings (800—1050) et qui prouve en faveur de notre hypothèse selon laquelle la hache pédiforme peut être attribuée au dieu Tor.

La trouvaille en question³⁾, faite à Torvalla près Husby, commune de Skederid, province d'Upland, Suède centrale, comporte entre autres choses un anneau en fer auquel sont attachés trois objets en miniature, imitant assez grossièrement une pointe de lance, une hache pédiforme et une faucille, fig. 5. Le tout est

¹⁾ V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX (1929), p. 15. Cf. H. Parmentier, *Anciens tambours de bronze* in *B. E. F. E. O.* 1918.

²⁾ Cf. *Fornvännen*, 1911, p. 247, fig. 51. De cette même localité provient un couteau en fer (*ibid.*, p. 248, fig. 49) d'une forme analogue à celle de certains couteaux en bronze appartenant au groupe sino-mongol.

³⁾ Cette trouvaille a été décrite par Richard Dybeck dans son ouvrage *Runa* (1865), p. 56.

en fer. Les objets furent exhumés accidentellement par un ouvrier qui labourait un champ, situé à proximité d'un ancien cimetière.

M. Hugo Jungner qui a traité de ces objets¹⁾ pense qu'ils ont un sens magique ou religieux. L'objet placé au milieu est évidemment une hache "ce qui fait penser

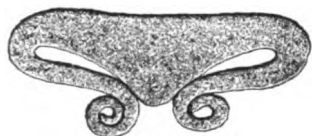


Fig. 4. Briquet en fer. Provenance: Västerbor, commune d'Öster Färnebo, Gestricie, Suède orientale. Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm), n:o 5237. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

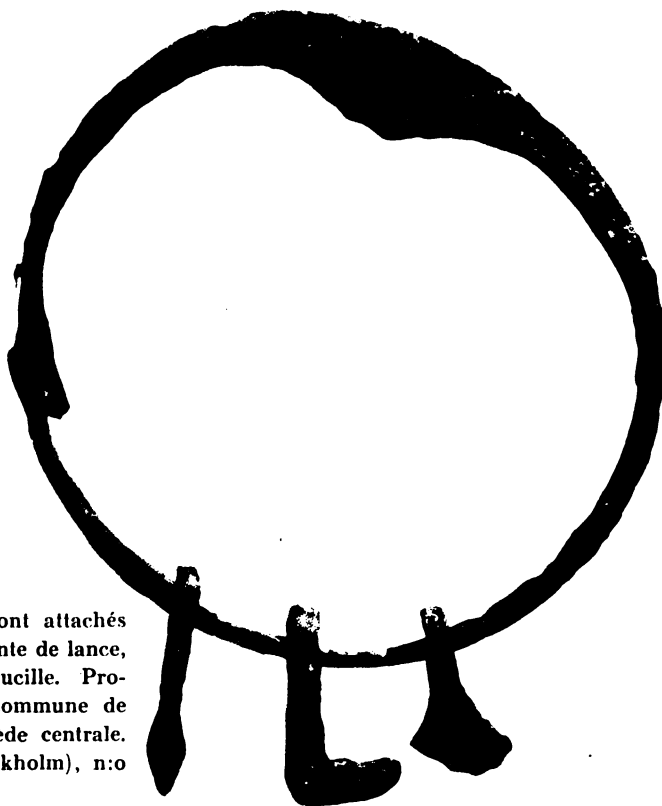


Fig. 5. Anneau en fer auquel sont attachés trois objets en miniature: une pointe de lance, une hache pédiforme et une faucille. Provenance: Torvalla près Husby, commune de Skederid, province d'Upland, Suède centrale. Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm), n:o 6263. Grandeur $\frac{2}{3}$.

à Tor qui devait employer sa hache pour consacrer les monuments élevés à la mémoire des morts et veiller sur leur repos".²⁾

La pointe de lance serait ici, selon M. Jungner³⁾, le symbole du dieu Odin, la faucille celui du dieu Fröj.

L'anneau auquel sont attachés ces objets n'est probablement qu'un briquet transformé, du type fig. 4. Les instruments de ce caractère sont représentés non seulement en Europe mais aussi en Asie, p. ex. dans le Turkestan, à Chatscho (Museum für Völkerkunde, salle n:o VI). En Scandinavie ils apparaissent au VII^e siècle après J.-C. (Cf. *Fornvännen* année 1919, *Tillväxten* p. 4, n:o 16060).

¹⁾ Hugo Jungner, *Gudinnan Frigg och Als härad*. Thèse de doctorat. (Upsal, 1922), p. 166 sqs et fig. 23, 24.

²⁾ H. Jungner, *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

Il existe en Indonésie des hallebardes, Pl. VI: 7, 8, analogues aux haches pédiformes des types que nous venons d'étudier. Peut-être y a-t-il quelque rapport entre les haches pédiformes yünnanaises et les armes indonésiennes du type Pl. VI: 7, 8. Selon M. Juynboll, ces monuments sont peut-être des armes de cérémonie.¹⁾ Ces hallebardes "rappellent . . . les singulières haches de bronze de l'Inde . . . dont on ne possède malheureusement encore aucun dessin" . . .²⁾

Parmi les autres haches asymétriques de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale nous pouvons distinguer un type à coupe semi-circulaire. Nous en reproduisons trois ici, Pl. VII: 1, 4, 5, provenant du Yünnan.

La partie inférieure de l'un d'eux, Pl. VII: 5, est facettée et le tranchant assez large. L'une des faces est perforée de quatre trous traversant les parois de la douille, l'autre est perforée de trois trous. La douille est ornée aussi bien sur la face bombée que sur la face plate d'un décor, maintenant à peine visible (cf. Pl. VII: 5 b), comportant un méandre et quelques stries parallèles. L'orifice est légèrement détérioré. Patine brune et verte. Longueur 144 millimètres. N:o 11034: 42.

Le méandre est un motif qui joue, comme nous le savons, un certain rôle dans l'art antique de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale. Il se rencontre p. ex. sur les tambours en bronze appartenant au type IV de F. Heger (*Alte Metalltrommeln*, p. 209 et Pl. XLI: 11).

L'autre celt, Pl. VII: 1, ressemble à celui que nous venons de décrire, mais le côté plat est facetté, Pl. VII: 1 b, et le tranchant moins large. La face bombée est ornée de deux bourrelets parallèles, courbes et au dessous desquelles on voit une ligne (en bas relief arrondi) en zig-zag, et ensuite au dessous d'elle on aperçoit à peine un triangle. L'autre côté est pourvu, près de l'orifice, de deux bourrelets. Patine brune et verdâtre. Longueur 113 millimètres. N:o 11034: 45.

Le troisième, Pl. VII: 4, est en partie à coupe semi-circulaire, en partie à coupe presque trapézoïdale. La partie supérieure de la douille est ornée des deux faces de trois bourrelets, parallèles à l'orifice. Patine noirâtre et couleur du laiton. Longueur 121 millimètres. N:o 11034: 38.

Cette hache présente de frappantes analogies avec des celts en bronze qui se

¹⁾ Dr H. H. Juynboll, *Katalog des Ethnographischen Reichsmuseums*, Band V. *Javanesische Alterthümer* (Leiden 1909), p. 194.

Lindenschmit reproduit (*Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, Bd I, livr. V, Pl. III, fig. 1. 2) quelques monuments analogues. Ceux-ci ne proviennent pas (comme l'indique Lindenschmit) de Gausalgesheim, Allemagne, mais de Java. M. Flinders Petrie cite aussi improprement (*Tools and Weapons*, fig. 188) un objet analogue comme provenant de Gausalgesheim. Cf. J. J. A. Worsaae, *Des âges de pierre et de bronze dans l'ancien et le nouveau monde. Comparaisons archéologico-éthnographiques* in *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*, Nouvelle série (Copenhague 1878—83), p. 197, note 2. Worsaae reproduit, *Op. cit.*, p. 196, fig. 1, une pièce provenant de Java et analogue à celles que nous avons figurées, Pl. VI: 7, 8.

²⁾ J. J. A. Worsaae, *Op. cit.*, p. 197.

trouvent dans la Chine du Nord, en Mongolie, en Sibérie¹⁾ et en Russie. La hache reproduite ici, Pl. VII: 6, provient de la région de Sianfu (Shensi), Chine du Nord. La face bombée est pourvue d'un trou et de deux bourrelets parallèles. Patine



Fig. 6. Hache en bronze, acquise à Peking. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 10421. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.



Fig. 7. Hache en bronze. Provenance: rivière de Nam Pang, affluent du Mékong, Etat des Shans, Birmanie. D'après H. Balfour, *A Spear-head and Socketed Celt of Bronze from the Shan States, Burma in Man* (juillet 1901), Pl. G. Grandeur env. $\frac{1}{1}$.

verte et brunâtre. Longueur 130 millimètres. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient n:o 11071: 101.

Une autre pièce, fig. 6, semblable à la hache reproduite Pl. VII: 4 a été acquise à Peking. Elle est pourvue d'un petit anneau. Ce même type de hache est représenté à Minoussinsk, Sibérie centrale.²⁾ Peut-être cette forme de hache remonte-


¹⁾ Cf. G. von Merhart, *Bronzezeit am Jenissei*, p. 103, fig. 62.

²⁾ Cf. F. Martin, *L'âge du bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk*, Pl. VI.

t-elle à des prototypes en roches diverses et de formes analogues, qui se rencontrent aussi bien en Sibérie que dans l'Europe du Nord.¹⁾

Parmi les pièces asymétriques à section semi-circulaire nous devons en citer une ici, fig. 7, qui provient de la Birmanie et dont le lieu et les circonstances de la découverte sont connues. Cette hache est intéressante aussi à cause de son décor.

Cette pièce a été trouvée dans le lit de la rivière de Nam Pang à 22° 10' lat. N., 99° 10' long. E.

M. H. Balfour dit au sujet de cette découverte:²⁾ "The bronze celt was discovered in digging in the gravel bed of a stream called the Nam Pang . . . Gold-washing operations are carried on in the Nam Pang bed, and it was thus that this bronze celt was found, together with a polished stone axe-head. It is a well-cast implement, and, although it resembles in form some of the socketed bronze celts of Western Europe, it presents at the same time minor peculiarities which give to it a local colouring. It is $3 \frac{1}{8}$ inches long, $2 \frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, and weighs 3 ozs. 306 grs. The metal is somewhat thin, the cutting edge expanded and crescentic. In transverse section the shape is fusiform, the two faces being convex and meeting to form edges at the sides. When viewed from one of the sides it is seen to be unsymmetrical, one face being considerably less convex than the other towards the cutting edge, in fact it is nearly flat at this part. This shape has the appearance of being intentional, and the implement may have been designed for some special kind of work. On the obverse are three raised zig-zag lines running parallel to each other from the socket rim to a transverse line which forks at the sides of the celt. The reverse is marked with a raised line following the contour of this shape: . There is a fine green patina over the surfaces."

Signalons à propos du bourrelet auquel M. Balfour fait allusion qu'il se rencontre parfois sur d'autres haches asymétriques, fig. 6, Pl. VII: 4 et souvent sur l'une des faces des haches ovalaires, symétriques de l'Indo-Chine (cf. p. 110 et Pl. IV: 4 b, V: 4, VIII: 4, 7 etc.). La forme des haches asymétriques du type Pl. VII: 4 explique l'origine de ce bourrelet. Celui-ci a peut-être servi de modèle aux bourrelets analogues qui décorent parfois les haches ovalaires.

Il existe aussi des haches asymétriques à section transversale trapézoïdale. Celle que nous reproduisons ici, Pl. IX: 1, a été acquise en Yünnan et provient probablement de cette région. Elle mesure 62 millimètres de long. Patine verte et brun foncé. N:o 11034: 39. Je ne connais pas d'autres haches analogues provenant du Yünnan, mais le type est assez fréquent ailleurs en Chine (le *pen*).³⁾ Nous en reproduisons ici, Pl. IX: 2, un spécimen provenant de Shou-chou,

¹⁾ Cf. Oscar Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 231, 232, etc.

²⁾ Henry Balfour, *A Spear-head and Socketed Celt of Bronze from the Shan States, Burma in Man*, N:o 77 (1901), p. 97.

³⁾ Cf. J. G. Andersson, *An Early Chinese Culture*, p. 6.

(Anhui). Ce même type est aussi représenté parmi les nombreux objets trouvés à Dong-son (Annam) Pl. IX: 4, décrit par M. V. Goloubew.¹⁾ Le type en question y daterait de l'époque des Han.²⁾ Les haches reproduites Pl. VIII: 2, 8, 10 appartiennent vraisemblablement à cette même famille.

Selon M. J. G. Andersson³⁾ ce type de hache a survécu en Chine jusqu'à nos jours. Actuellement elle est fabriquée en fer et employée notamment par les charpentiers. Il ressort de la Pl. III: 1—3, reproduite par M. J. G. Andersson dans son ouvrage *An Early Chinese Culture* comment ces haches sont emmanchées. Pour augmenter la force du coup porté on a introduit dans la douille un morceau de bois dans lequel est fixé le manche.

Voilà pour les haches asymétriques. Passons maintenant à l'étude des

CELTS SYMÉTRIQUES.

Parmi ceux-ci il y en a qui sont à coupe quadrangulaire et parfois pourvus d'un petit anneau unilatéral placé près de l'orifice.

La pièce reproduite ici Pl. X: 2 qui probablement provient du Yünnan est à coupe presque quadrangulaire. C'est un type qui se rencontre aussi dans la Chine du Centre, Pl. X: 1, où il est pourtant peu fréquent.⁴⁾

Les haches de cette forme sont aussi connues en Europe, p. ex. en Scandinavie⁵⁾ où elles apparaissent déjà pendant la seconde période de l'âge du bronze qui, selon le système chronologique de Montelius, va du milieu du XVI^e siècle jusqu'à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Dans l'Europe occidentale ces haches ont été parfois employées comme monnaies.⁶⁾

Il existe aussi en Yünnan des haches à douille carrée, dépourvues d'anses, fig. 9. Longueur 159 millimètres. Couleur du laiton. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient n:o 11034: 30. Ce type se rencontre aussi ailleurs en Chine.

Nous avons déjà attiré l'attention⁷⁾ sur une catégorie de celts trouvés au Yünnan et qui sont à coupe ovale et pourvus d'un anneau unilatéral. Nous connaissons trois haches de ce type, toutes les trois acquises à Yünnanfu. Nous en reproduisons une ici Pl. VII: 2, les deux autres ont été figurées dans le second tome de ce Bulletin.⁸⁾ L'une d'elles est ornée de lignes en spirales curvilignes et rectilignes ainsi que de tresses. L'autre est ornée seulement de tresses.

Ce type de hache est très fréquent en Europe. En Scandinavie il apparaît déjà

¹⁾ *L'âge du Bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX (1929).

²⁾ V. Goloubew, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

³⁾ *An Early Chinese Culture*, (Peking 1923), p. 6 sqs.

⁴⁾ Selon une communication orale de M. Orvar Karlbeck.

⁵⁾ Cf. Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 876, 1056.

⁶⁾ Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie. Age du Bronze*, p. 254.

⁷⁾ *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, N:o 2, p. 178.

⁸⁾ *Antiquités chinoises d'un caractère hallstattien*, Pl. I: 1, 3.

pendant la seconde période de l'âge du bronze. Il y a subsisté dans certaines régions encore au premier âge du fer.

Le type est représenté dans la Russie orientale.¹⁾



Fig. 8. Hache en cuivre. Hongrie. D'après J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, t. I, fig. 116.



Fig. 9. Hache en bronze. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 30. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

Un certain nombre de celts symétriques, ovalaires, sans anneau, proviennent du Yünnan. Le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient en possède deux.

L'un, Pl. VII: 3, est pourvu, un peu au dessus du milieu, d'un décor composé de deux lignes en relief, parallèles, légèrement courbes et entre lesquelles nous voyons sur l'une des faces une tresse très fruste et un peu irrégulière. Longueur de la hache 139 millimètres. Patine brune et verdâtre. Provenance probable: région de Yünnanfu.

L'autre pièce, Pl. X: 3, moins longue et plus large que celle que nous venons d'étudier, est dépourvue de décor, mais il existe sur l'une des faces une légère saillie, irrégulière, certainement non intentionnelle. Longueur 99 millimètres. Patine brune et verdâtre. Provenance probable: région de Yünnanfu.

Deux autres haches semblables, Pl. XI: 6, 7, actuellement conservées au Museo preistorico-etnografico (Collegio romano), Rome, proviennent de la région de S'zemaï à 22° 46' lat. N. et 101° 2' long. E. dans le Yünnan sud-occidental, une

¹⁾ Cf. O. Janse, *En i Lithauen funnen brons-celt av s. k. Mälardalstyp in Fornvännan* année 1929, p. 176, notes.

cinquantaine de kilomètres à l'est du Mékong. Patine foncée et verdâtre. Longueur environ 80 millimètres. N^{os} 4470 G et 4471 G.

Ce type de hache est répandu aussi au Tonkin, Pl. V: 10, 12, dans le Laos, Pl. V: 4, 5, 7, 9, 13, XI: 1—5, en Birmanie¹⁾, au Cambodge, Pl. VIII: 1 et J.-B. Noulet, *L'âge de la pierre polie et du bronze au Cambodge, d'après les découvertes de M. Moura*, Toulouse (1879), Pl. VI: 6 (cf. *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, vol. XIV, 2^e série, t. X, p. 320, fig. 102), dans la Cochinchine, Pl. V: 11, dans la péninsule de Malacca²⁾, à Java, Pl. VI: 1—6 et à Célèbes, Pl. VI: 9.

L'aire géographique de ce groupe de celts est extrêmement vaste dans l'Extrême-Asie méridionale, mais ils semblent rares ou faire défaut dans la Chine du Centre et dans la Chine du Nord. Comme l'a déjà remarqué Emile Cartailhac³⁾ la hache ovulaire du même type que celui que nous venons de décrire, présente "une analogie parfaite avec un type répandu dans le nord-est de l'Europe et dans le nord de l'Asie".

Nous connaissons une pièce, trouvée en Hongrie, fig. 8, qui appartient à cette même famille de celts. Cet outil est en cuivre. Selon Hampel⁴⁾ on a trouvé d'autres objets semblables aussi bien en Hongrie qu'en Russie. Il cite aussi une pièce analogue⁵⁾ en fer (trouvée dans une sépulture à Hódmező-Vásárhely) datant de l'époque des invasions et beaucoup plus récente que l'outil fig. 8. Hampel trouve énigmatique cette réapparition à l'époque des invasions d'un type d'instrument dont l'usage en Hongrie avait été abandonné pendant de longs siècles. La chose s'explique assez facilement si nous prenons en considération que le type a subsisté dans l'Extrême-Orient (et peut-être aussi ailleurs en Asie) au moins jusqu'aux premiers siècles de notre ère et qu'il a pu être réintroduit en Europe par les hordes asiatiques qui envahirent l'Occident au milieu du premier millénaire après J.-C.

Le celt symétrique est un instrument qui n'a aucun lien avec les civilisations de l'Asie Antérieure ou avec celles des pays méditerranéens. Il y fait défaut de même que dans l'Iran. Nous ne connaissons qu'un seul exemplaire trouvé aux Indes.¹⁾ Par contre il est fréquent en Chine, en Sibérie, dans l'Europe du Nord et dans l'Europe centrale. Il n'est pas possible de préciser son point d'origine.⁶⁾

Outre les objets que nous avons étudiés, citons pour terminer cette énumération,

¹⁾ Une hache trouvée à Thayetmyo, du type Pl. XI: 6 est reproduite dans *British Museum. A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age* (1920), p. 182, fig. 193. Une autre hache semblable à la précédente, conservée au British Museum, provient de Midnapur, Bengale orientale.

²⁾ Cf. I. H. N. Evans, *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, (Cambridge, 1927).

³⁾ *Matériaux pour l'Histoire de l'Homme*, Vol. XIV, 2^eème série, tome X, 1879, p. 319, note 1.

⁴⁾ Joseph Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn*, t. I, p. 92 et fig. 116.

⁵⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 91 et fig. 115.

⁶⁾ Cf. J. de Morgan, *Les premières civilisations* (Paris 1909), p. 338.

une hache plate, Pl. IX: 3, qui provient d'Indo-Chine et qui est le seul exemplaire de ce type trouvé dans l'Extrême-Asie méridionale, que nous connaissons.

C'est une petite hache, massive, à coupe presque fusiforme. La partie supérieure des rebords latéraux est pourvue, des deux côtés, d'un bourrelet. Au milieu du talon dans le haut et sur les deux faces se trouvent deux menues saillies, chacune presque en forme d'une épine. Patine brune et verte. Longueur 75 millimètres. Epaisseur 8 millimètres.

Les haches plates, massives, en cuivre¹⁾ qui ont été trouvées en Europe et dans l'Orient affectent parfois quelque ressemblance avec celle que nous venons d'étudier, mais ces haches sont dépourvues de bourrelets.

UNE HACHE D'ARME.

Le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient possède une hache en bronze (n:o 10442), particulièrement intéressante, aussi bien à cause de sa forme qu'à cause de son décor, Pl. XII, XIII.

Elle a été acquise à Peking et provient probablement de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale (cf. p. 100).

C'est une hache à douille transversale, tubulaire, pourvue dans le haut d'une saillie plate. La douille est à coupe ovale et à parois très minces. L'une des extrémités en est légèrement aplatie. La lame affecte la forme d'un triangle tronqué. La partie inférieure en est arquée et assez épaisse. Il est probable que la lame s'est terminée primitivement en pointe. Les tranchants sont biseautés et légèrement concaves. Juste au-dessous du milieu de la lame se trouve un trou irrégulier presque ovale, encerclé d'une zone ovale, radiée, en creux et probablement faite dans la fonte. Sur les deux faces, il existe une arête médiane arrondie qui va du trou au rebord inférieur de la lame. La partie supérieure de la lame est ornée sur les deux faces de deux animaux, destinés à représenter des grenouilles(?)²⁾. Elles tendent en avant les pattes de devant en écartant les "doigts". Nous pouvons aussi distinguer leurs pattes de derrière qui sont dirigées en avant. Remarquons que les deux grenouilles ont une des pattes de devant commune. Nous voyons un motif analogue reproduit sur les deux faces de la saillie qui termine la douille, mais là les animaux sont au nombre de trois et leurs pattes de derrière sont en partie indiquées plus nettement. Ici, deux traits horizontaux, visibles sur les "poignets", indiquent peut-être des bracelets. Ce dernier petit groupe est inscrit dans un cadre composé de quelques rainures droites et courbes auxquelles s'ajoutent quelques lignes en spirales.

Sur l'une des faces le dessin est net, sur l'autre il est fruste et en partie complètement disparu.

¹⁾ Cf. Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 147—152 et p. 10.

²⁾ Selon M. J. G. Andersson (communication orale), il s'agirait peut-être de lézards.

La douille est ornée de la façon suivante. Sur l'une des faces nous voyons un animal à quatre pattes qui tourne la tête en arrière. Le corps est bandiforme et la queue démesurément exagérée. Celle-ci est courbée et se termine en pointe. Il est difficile de distinguer nettement les pattes, mais elles semblent se terminer en plusieurs doigts. Au milieu du corps et de la queue nous voyons une tresse, le tout exécuté en double trait. Devant l'animal, il y a dans le sens vertical deux zones, dont l'une est ornée d'une tresse et l'autre unie. Derrière la bête se voient trois zones. La première est remplie de lignes en spirales et en forme de menus triangles, la seconde est ornée d'une tresse et la troisième, plus large que les autres, est unie. Les zones sont séparées les unes des autres par une, deux ou trois lignes parallèles. Sur l'autre face de la douille nous voyons 13 zones verticales, unies ou ornées et disposées de la façon suivante (de gauche à droite) : 1. Unie. 2. Tresse. 3. Lignes en spirales et petits triangles. 4. Unie. 5. Tresse. 6. Lignes en spirales et petits triangles. 7. Tresse. 8. Lignes en spirales et petits triangles. 9. Tresse. 10. Unie. 11. Lignes en spirales et petits triangles. 12. Tresse. 13. Unie. Les zones sont séparées les unes des autres par une, deux ou trois lignes. Les zones décorées sont disposées en trois groupes.

Patine verdâtre et noire. Longueur actuelle 155 mm.

Cette pièce a été fabriquée à l'aide d'un moule à double valve. Il existe encore à l'intérieur de la douille, dans son milieu, un mince bourrelet qui s'est formé au moment de la fonte. Le décor a probablement été fait à la fonte. Ultérieurement celui-ci a pu être accentué à l'aide d'un poinçon.

En ce qui concerne la forme, notre hache doit être rapprochée du *ko* chinois. C'est un type d'arme de cérémonie qui remonte très haut dans l'antiquité chinoise.¹⁾ Nous le rencontrons parmi les trouvailles faites à An-yang (Honan du Nord), et qui sont assignées aux derniers siècles du règne des dynasties Shang-Yin. M. O. Karlbeck reproduit, *Notes on the archæology of China in Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, t. II, Pl. IV: 1, 2 a, b, deux *ko* trouvés à An-yang, chacun pourvu d'une douille transversale. Probablement ce modèle était-il en usage au moins déjà au commencement du second millénaire avant J.-C. Il a subsisté encore aux temps des Han.

Nous ne savons pas comment ce type d'arme s'est développée au point de vue technologique, mais il est possible que la douille a eu une tendance à s'allonger. Nous connaissons un *ko*, pourvu d'un riche décor, conçu dans le style Ch'in (O. Sirén, *A History of early Chinese Art*, t. I, Pl. 95: B), et qui doit dater des environs du III^e siècle avant J.-C. Or, cette pièce est ornée d'une douille, assez grande. Il existe aussi en ce qui concerne le décor de la douille de cette dernière pièce et celle qui est reproduite ici Pl. XII, XIII certaines similitudes (tresses, disposition du décor en zones verticales).

¹⁾ Cf. J. G. Andersson, *An Early Chinese Culture*, p. 8 sqs.

Il y a aussi dans la Chine du Nord des haches à douille transversale, pourvue dans le haut d'une saillie en forme d'une plaque carrée (fig. 10). La lame, parfois triangulaire, (Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient n:o 11278:8) peut être



Fig. 10. Deux haches en bronze. Provenance présumée: Chine du Nord. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:os 11055:42 et 10441. Grandeur env. 2/3.

ornée d'une nervure médiane et d'un trou rond. Les similitudes entre les objets du type fig. 10 et notre hache Pl. XII, XIII ne permettent pourtant pas de dire que ceux-là sont les prototypes de celle-ci. Elles peuvent toutes dériver, comme l'a suggéré M. Andersson, d'un même modèle: le *ko*.

Nous devons aussi rapprocher notre hache d'arme, Pl. XII, XIII, d'un *ko*, fig. 11, auquel M. J. G. Andersson a attiré mon attention. Cette arme, qui a été trouvée dans le delta tonkinois, ne possède pas de douille, mais, malgré cette dissemblance, les deux monuments doivent être considérés comme appartenant à la même famille. Ils présentent, tous les deux, des similitudes frappantes: la saillie dans le haut, la forme de la lame, la nervure médiane, le cercle radié et les représentations supposées de grenouilles.

Ce dernier motif est très fréquent dans l'art ancien de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale. Nous le rencontrons notamment sur les tambours en bronze (F. Heger, *Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien*, Pl. XXIX: 13—16 et p. 145 sqs.). En ce qui concerne la signification religieuse des batraciens, voir p. 125.

Nous avons déjà attiré l'attention sur le quadrupède qui tourne la tête en arrière

et qui orne la douille de la hache reproduite, Pl. XIII. C'est un motif décoratif qui est très répandu en Eurasie.

Il est fréquent dans le style dit Ch'in (cf. p. ex. O. Sirén, *A History of early Chinese Art*, Pl. 105, 106, 107 A). Etant donné le fait qu'il existe des affinités entre notre hache, Pl. XII, XIII, et des monuments appartenant à l'art Ch'in, nous avons lieu de nous demander s'il n'y a pas aussi une parenté entre le quadrupède de la Pl. XIII et les motifs analogues qui caractérisent parfois l'art Ch'in.

Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances il n'est pas possible de dire si le style Ch'in à son tour a emprunté ce motif à l'art Chou ou s'il l'a emprunté au style nomade eurasiatique. Il se rencontre dans les deux domaines.

Nous connaissons plusieurs monuments conçus dans le style Chou ornés de quadrupèdes qui tournent la tête en arrière (p. ex. Jörg Trübner, *Yu und Kuang*, Pl. XL et XLV; cf. aussi J. Strzygowski, *Asiens bildende Kunst*, p. 484, 485 et fig. 481; Sirén, *Op. cit.* Pl. 56 A).

S'il existe des monuments qui semblent prouver en faveur d'une origine chinoise de notre motif zoomorphe, il y en a d'autres qui prouvent en faveur de l'opinion selon laquelle ce même motif a été introduit du dehors dans l'art chinois. Nous le trouvons dans l'art scythe (Ebert, *Reallexikon*, art. *Südrussl.* Pl. 28 B, 31 B, 32 A, 33 A, 34 A etc.). Signalons à se propos qu'il existe des agrafes trouvées en Chine (p. ex. M. A. E. O., n:o 11033: 33) qui sont décorées d'un animal qui tourne la tête en arrière. Or, selon M. Sirén (*Op. cit.*, p. 62) l'usage de porter des agrafes, qui a dû se généraliser en Chine au III^e siècle avant J.-C., y auraient été introduit par des peuplades nomades.

Nous avons déjà mentionné que l'arme Pl. XII, XIII, est ornée de tresses.

L'apparition de ce motif ici est d'un grand intérêt. Deux celts provenant du Yünnan (O. Janse, *Antiquités chinoises*, etc. dans ce *Bulletin* n:o 2, Pl. I: 1, 3) et plusieurs tambours en bronze provenant de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale (Heger,

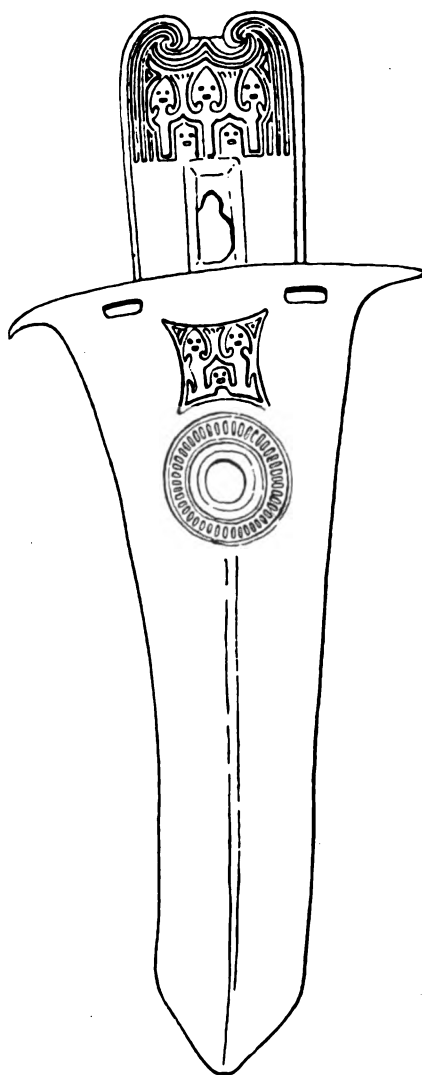


Fig. 11. Hache de cérémonie ou pic d'arme du delta tonkinois. Bronze. Musée de l'Ecole française de l'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi. D'après un dessin communiqué par M. V. Goloubew (Hanoi).

Longueur 0 m 24.

Alte Metalltrommeln, Pl. XXXVIII: 36—41) en sont ornés. C'est un des motifs décoratifs qui constituent aussi ce que l'on appelle, faute de mieux, le style Ch'in qui était répandu non seulement dans la Chine du Nord et la Chine du Centre mais aussi dans les provinces du Sud, p. ex. dans le Hunan (voir Pl. XIV: 5



Fig. 12. Deux agrafes de ceinture ornées de tresses. Bronze. Désert d'Ordos, Mongolie. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n^{os} 11276: 9, 10. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

et fig. 14). Le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient possède un certain nombre de bronzes ornés de tresses et qui sont pourvus d'un décor conçu dans le style dit Ch'in et dont nous reproduisons plusieurs spécimens ici Pl. XIV et fig. 14. Sur ces bronzes nous voyons parfois, associées à la tresse, des "virgules" et de petits champs à fond granulé. (D'autres bronzes ornés de tresses et appartenant au style dit Ch'in se voient dans la Coll. v. Hallwyl à Stockholm.)

Parmi les objets trouvés à Li-yü (Shansi du Nord et non loin de la province de Sui-yüan) il y a un bronze en forme d'animal (style dit Ch'in), orné de tresses (Alfred Salmony, *Asiatische Kunst Ausstellung, Köln 1926; München 1929*, Pl. 36).

Plusieurs autres bronzes, appartenant au groupe de Sui-yüan, sont décorés de tresses. Nous en reproduisons deux ici, fig. 12.

Par quelle voie la tresse s'est elle introduite dans l'art chinois? Nous avons lieu de penser que les Scythes (ou les pré-Scythes[?]) y sont pour quelque chose. Il existe en effet plusieurs monuments qui plaident en faveur de cette hypothèse.

Citons d'abord le fourreau de glaive reproduit ici fig. 13. Cette pièce, qui a été trouvée à Elisavetgrad (Cherson), dans la région des steppes de la Russie méridionale, provient d'un tumulus.

Nous ne savons pas comment la sépulture était disposée, car les fouilles en furent peu systématiques, mais il est probable qu'il s'agit d'une tombe à incinération.

Le mobilier funéraire date du VI^e ou, selon M. Boroffka, du VII^e siècle avant notre ère.¹⁾

Le fourreau trouvé à Elisavetgrad, fig. 13, est pourvu d'un décor qui est du plus



Fig. 13. Fourreau de glaive. Elisavetgrad (Cherson), Russie méridionale. D'après M. Ebert, *Reallexikon*, Bd VIII, art. *Melgunov-Fund*, Tf. 39.

haut intérêt. Un cerf au galop représente seul l'art purement scythique ou eurasiatique.

Il faut chercher dans l'art d'alors de l'Asie Mineure le prototype des autres motifs décoratifs que nous rencontrons ici: l'arbre de la vie, des génies ailés et des êtres fantastiques tirant de l'arc.

"Alle diese Fabelwesen" dit Ebert²⁾ "wie auch die Genien sind späte Abkömmlinge von den Mischwesen der älteren babyl.-assyrr. Kunst".

Il nous paraît probable que la tresse qui encadre les animaux doit être considérée comme un motif décoratif qui a été emprunté à l'art assyrien, où elle remplit la même fonction que sur le fourreau d'Elisavetgrad, c.-à-d. qu'elle sert à délimiter ou à encadrer un champ.³⁾

Cette trouvaille relie dans quelque sorte l'art scythique à l'art de l'Assyrie. D'autre part celui-là est, comme nous le savons, apparenté au style nomade de l'Extrême-Orient.

¹⁾ Ebert, *Reallexikon*, Bd 8, p. 135, art. *Melgunov-Fund*.

²⁾ *Reallexikon*, Bd 8, p. 134, art. *Melgunov-Fund*.

³⁾ Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art (La Phénicie)*, p. 131. Voir aussi au sujet de l'origine de la tresse comme motif décoratif, Ebert, *Reallexikon*, art. *Flechtband*, t. III. Ce motif paraît aussi dans l'art mycénien, mais il y est moins fréquent que dans l'art assyrien. (Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art. La Grèce primitive*, fig. 549, p. 973).

Nous avons lieu de citer ici encore une trouvaille scythique, celle qui provient de *Kelermes* dans la région de Kuban, Russie méridionale. Dans cette localité on a déterré une hache en fer, plaquée d'or, reproduite maintes fois (Cf. Ebert,



Fig. 14. Cloche en bronze, déterrée à Changsha (Hunan), Chine du Sud. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11276: 72. Grandeur env. $\frac{1}{3}$.

Reallexikon, t. VI, art. *Kelermes*, Pl. 28: a) et datant probablement du VI^e siècle avant notre ère. Outre la tresse, nous y voyons des éléments décoratifs qui ont été empruntés aussi bien à l'art scythe qu'à l'art du Proche-Orient.

La trouvaille, bien connue, de Vetersfelde (Brandebourg, Allemagne) qui date du VI^e ou du V^e siècle avant notre ère témoigne aussi des influences chaldéo-assyriennes qu'a subies l'art scythe.

Parmi les objets de Vettersfelde¹⁾ nous ne citons ici que le poisson en or, reproduit maintes fois (cf. p. ex. Ebert, *Reallexikon*, t. 14, art. *Vettersfelde*, Taf. 44) orné de motifs décoratifs que M. Robert Eisler a interprété comme des symboles de divinités sumériennes.²⁾

M. Eisler, qui considère cette pièce comme une amulette de cheval, y voit la représentation de la déesse Ninâ qui, en même temps qu'elle est la protectrice des poissons, est aussi la maîtresse des sources et des cours d'eau. Elle règne sur les steppes.

M. Eisler dit³⁾ : " — — — da — — — Pferde Durst weniger vertragen als irgend-ein anderes Tier, so dass sie schon bei kurzdauerndem Wassermangel leicht eingehen, so lag der Gedanke nahe, sie durch das Schwalbenfischsymbol der Quellgöttin in deren besonderen Schutz zu stellen. Man hängte daher das Fischamulett über ihre Nüstern und Ohren, um sie für die Witterung und das ferne Rauschen der Quellen und Bäche empfindlich und hellhörig zu machen, eine Fähigkeit, die ja auch für den Reiter bzw. Wagenlenker in der Steppe und Wüste von lebenswichtiger Bedeutung ist."

Voilà donc quelques témoignages d'ordre archéologiques qui viennent à l'appui de l'hypothèse, selon laquelle les Scythes auraient subi, au milieu du premier millénaire avant notre ère, des influences du monde chaldéo-assyrien. Mais il existe aussi des preuves d'ordre littéraire.

Hérodote rapporte⁴⁾ qu'un prince scythe *Bartatua* était allié au roi assyrien Esarhaddon et marié à une princesse assyrienne. Son père Madyes avait envahi avec ses hordes la Syrie jusqu'à la frontière de l'Égypte. "Nichts ist naheliegender", poursuit M. Eisler (*Op. cit.*) "als dass die Skythen, sei es durch ihre friedlichen Beziehungen mit Assyrien, sei es auf ihren Raubzügen durch assyrisch-babylonisches Kulturgebiet von den zauberkundigen Priestern lernten und auch später nie mehr vergassen, wie man kunstgerecht ein Amulett gegen das Verdursten der Pferde in der Steppe anfertigte."

" — — — Bartatua beherrschte gerade das Hauptgebiet der uralten chaldäischen Kunstübung, mit ihrer Vorliebe für phantastische Tierplastik."

Il ressort de ce que nous venons de dire que la tresse a pu être introduite comme motif décoratif en Chine par l'intermédiaire des Scythes ou par une autre des peuplades nomades apparentées à ceux-ci.⁵⁾

¹⁾ A. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde in Dreiundvierzigstes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste der Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* (1883).

²⁾ *Sumerische Göttersymbole auf dem Goldfisch von Vettersfelde in Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts ("Archäologischer Anzeiger") Berlin* (1925), p. 11—22.

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

⁴⁾ Cf. Eisler, *Op. cit.*, p. 20 sqs.

⁵⁾ Selon M. W. Kaudern (Gothembourg) ce motif, qui se retrouve sur des armes en bronze à Célèbes y aurait été introduit de l'étranger. Aurait-il pu gagner l'île par l'Indo-Chine ou par une autre voie? La question reste ouverte.

Si nous jetons un coup d'œil sur l'art ancien de l'Europe, nous pouvons constater que la tresse y apparaît à plusieurs reprises, mais nous avons l'impression que son apparition y est toujours due à des influences orientales.

La tresse comme motif décoratif paraît faire défaut au nord des Alpes pendant toute la durée de l'âge de la pierre et pendant l'âge du bronze. Elle n'y fait son apparition qu'à l'époque de Hallstatt.

A l'époque de la Tène la tresse devient un motif décoratif assez fréquent.

A l'époque des invasions, la tresse se répandit sur la plus grande partie de l'Europe. Elle est extrêmement fréquente en Hongrie. Elle y orne parfois des objets qui ont été trouvés avec d'autres monuments, dont l'ornementation trahit des influences orientales (griffons etc.) et dont nous trouvons des analogies en Asie, même en Corée.¹⁾

Il est encore impossible de déterminer avec exactitude à quel moment l'élément décoratif que constitue la tresse a été introduit dans l'art chinois. Mais nous avons lieu de supposer qu'elle a gagné la Chine sud-occidentale dès avant la fin de l'époque de Hallstatt, c.-à-d. antérieurement à l'an 400 avant J.-C., car de cette partie de la Chine proviennent, comme nous l'avons déjà signalé, des antiquités d'un caractère hallstattien et ornées de tresses.²⁾

Il est pourtant probable que les éléments propres à la civilisation hallstattienne qui ont été introduits en Chine, ont dû y subsister encore au commencement de notre ère, si non, plus longtemps encore. Cela ressort, entre autres faits, des fouilles exécutées en Indo-Chine, à Dong-son, dans le Nord-Annam, où, entre autres choses, deux bracelets d'un type hallstattien ont été mis au jour; ceux-ci y étaient associés à des bronzes chinois, datant du temps des Han.³⁾

POIGNARDS.

Pl. XV: 3 a—d reproduit un poignard en bronze qui a été acquis à Yünnanfu. La pièce en question provient vraisemblablement de la région dont fait partie cette localité.

Le poignard est fondu d'une seule pièce. Le pommeau affecte la forme d'un bouton sphérique, légèrement aplati. La coupe transversale de la fusée est ovale. A la partie inférieure de la poignée, se voit une espèce de garde plate, à contour semicirculaire. La lame est très épaisse, à coupe transversale rhomboïdale. Les

¹⁾ Hamada, K., et Umehara, S., *A royal tomb "Kinkan-Tsuka" or the Gold Crown Tomb at Keishu and its Treasures. Special report of the service of antiquities.* Vol. III Government-General of Chosen (1924), fig. 31. En ce qui concerne les monuments ornés de tresses, trouvés en Hongrie, voir J. Hampel, *Alterthümer des frühen Mittelalters in Ungarn* (Braunschweig 1905), t. III, Pl. 56: 5, 75: 10, 78: 5, 108: 1, 148, 202: 3, 272: 1; Börzönyi Arnold, *Györi Sírmésző a régibb Kőzéporkorból in Arch. Értesítő* (1905), p. 16 sqs, fig. 570.

²⁾ *Antiquités chinoises d'un caractère hallstattien in Bull. of the Mus. of Far Eastern Ant.*, No 2, Pl. 1: 1, 3. Cf. p. 109.

³⁾ V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze dans le Nord-Annam in B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX: (1929), p. 22, 10 sqs.

tranchants sont presque parallèles, la pointe à contour ogival. La poignée est d'une patine noire et la lame a la couleur du laiton.

Longueur totale 191 millimètres. Epaisseur de la lame 7 millimètres.

Je ne connais pas d'autres pièces analogues trouvées ni en Chine ni en Indo-Chine. Non seulement par la forme de sa poignée, mais aussi par celle de sa lame elle diffère beaucoup des poignards que nous connaissons et qui ont été trouvés en Chine et en Indo-Chine.¹⁾

Nous avons lieu de nous demander si cette pièce n'est pas venue en Chine du dehors ou faite d'après un modèle étranger. Peut-être a-t-elle été introduite de l'Ouest au Yünnan? Nous rencontrons en effet le même type d'arme (Pl. XV: 2) dans la Russie²⁾, p. ex. à Ananino. Les objets qui y ont été trouvés appartiennent en général, selon M. Tallgren, à une période qui va de l'an 600 à l'an 200 avant J.-C. Ils témoignent en partie des relations que les populations de cette région ont dû entretenir alors avec la Sibérie et l'Europe du Nord.³⁾

Il est intéressant de constater qu'il existe parmi les riches matériaux archéologiques du Musée Historique de l'Etat (Statens Historiska Museum) à Stockholm un poignard (n:o 1796) Pl. XV: 1, qui, sans aucun doute possible, doit être considéré comme appartenant à la même famille que ceux que nous reproduisons Pl. XV: 2, 3.

Ce poignard, que Montelius a qualifié d'épée en miniature⁴⁾, est entièrement en bronze, fondu d'une seule pièce et mesure env. 172 millimètres de long. La pièce provient de Flädie, commune d'Alfshög, province de Halland, Suède sud-occidentale.⁵⁾ Signalons à ce propos qu'un moule de hache à deux anses, d'un type qui est très rare en Scandinavie mais fréquent en Sibérie, a été aussi trouvé à Flädie (cf. p. 128).

Les rapprochements que nous venons de faire n'ont rien d'absurde. D'un côté nous pouvons constater des analogies entre quelques produits industriels trouvés

¹⁾ Cf. notre article, *Notes sur quelques épées anciennes trouvées en Chine* (*Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, n:o 2), Pl. III: 3, V: 2, IX, XI, XVI: 3, XX: 3.

²⁾ Cf. Ebert, *Reallexikon*, art. *Süd-Russland*, Tf. 39: I.

³⁾ "Bei der Bearbeitung der Ananino-Kultur konnte sogar auf Einflüsse hingewiesen werden, die von dort gegen Ost liefen und zur Bildung einer merkwürdigen, doch erst undeutlich sich aussprechenden Misch-Kultur aus minoussinskischen, turkestanischen und Ananino-Elementen in Westsibirien führten. Ja, es ist nicht zu bezweifeln, dass solche Fernwirkungen Ananinos bis nach Tomsk reichten, wo trotz der Nähe des minussinskischen Herdes manche Einzelercheinungen, vor allem auch der Grabritus selbst an westlichen Parallelen zu erklären sind." Gero von Merhart, *Bronzezeit am Jenissei. Ein Beitrag zur Urgeschichte Sibiriens* (Wien 1926), p. 17; cf. p. 16 *ibid.* et A. M. Tallgren, *L'époque dite d'Ananino dans la Russie orientale (Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland, II)* in *S. M. Y. A.*, XXXI, (Helsingfors, 1919), p. 180 sqs.

⁴⁾ *Album préhistorique de la Suède* (Stockholm 1918), p. 53, fig. 1206.

⁵⁾ Selon Montelius cette pièce date de la cinquième période de l'âge du bronze qui va du milieu du Xe siècle jusqu'au milieu du VIIIe. — Une étude plus détaillée des matériaux archéologiques scandinaves, datant de l'âge du bronze, montrerait certainement qu'il existe parmi ceux-ci des éléments sibériens assez importants.

en Indo-Chine et en Sibérie (cf. p. 111), et d'autre part il y a aussi des points de contact entre certains objets en bronze découverts en Scandinavie et des pièces semblables à ceux-ci provenant de la Russie orientale et de la Sibérie. M. Goloubew

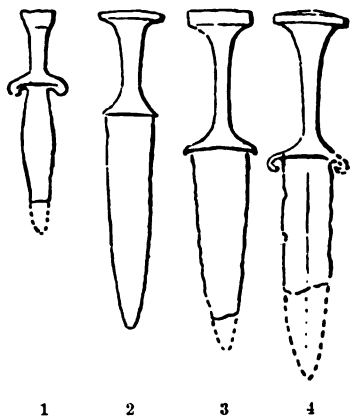


Fig. 15. Poignards en bronze. Provenance: Dong-son, Annam du Nord, Indo-Chine. D'après V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX, fig. 5: c.

n'hésite pas à considérer un groupe de poignards trouvés à Dong-son (Annam), et propres à l'Indo-Chine, fig. 15, comme apparentés à la famille des poignards sino-scythiques.¹⁾

M. Goloubew décrit²⁾ ces poignards de la façon suivante: "Les poignards de Dong-son appartiennent à la grande famille des poignards sino-scythiques — — —. Certains spécimens, qui mesurent jusqu'à 0 m 25, pourraient passer pour de courtes épées. Ils sont à tranchants biseautés — — —. Lame et poignée sont faites d'une seule pièce. Quant à la garde, elle tend à disparaître; parfois elle est à peine accusée par une légère saillie. La poignée, très caractéristique, diffère sensiblement de celles que l'on peut étudier sur les armes chinoises de la collection Osvald Sirén. La fusée est à profil bi-concave, tandis que sa coupe affecte le contour d'une lentille arrondie en dehors — — —. Parfois elle est presque plate,

et alors l'arme pouvait se fixer commodément au bras ou à la jambe à l'aide d'une bandelette de cuir ou d'une corde — — —."

"Toutes ces armes — — — avaient été fabriquées à l'aide de moules à double valve — — —. Des moules identiques ont été découverts dans diverses stations préhistoriques de l'Europe centrale, notamment dans les palafittes du Bourget et de Corcelettes et aux Eaux-Vives."

Il existe au Musée Guimet deux poignards du type fig. 15: 2, 3 dont l'un est à l'état fragmentaire; l'autre, qui est entier, diffère pourtant légèrement de ceux reproduits ici, fig. 15: 2, 3 en ce sens que la garde est pourvue à la base et au milieu d'une menue échancrure ogivale. Ces poignards qui font partie de la collection Pouyanne proviennent du Tonkin ou de l'Annam du Nord.

La Pl. XV: 4 reproduit un poignard en bronze qui a été acquis à Yünnanfu.

La fusée affecte la forme d'une tige à section transversale, ovale, ornée de fins bourrelets filiformes qui imitent peut-être des cordonnets enroulés et qui se terminent dans le haut et dans le bas dans un creux en forme d'un ovale pointu. Le pommeau est fait d'un bouton ovale dont la partie supérieure est légèrement bom-

¹⁾ V. Goloubew, *L'âge du Bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX (1929), p. 16, 17, fig. 5, 6.

²⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

bée et unie. Dans le haut et dans le bas de la poignée nous voyons de minces bourrelets filiformes, parallèles. Il n'existe pas de garde proprement dite, mais la partie inférieure de la poignée, assez épaisse, est caliciforme et pourvue en son milieu d'un lobe pointu. Les contours inférieurs du "calice" sont un peu rehaussés. La coupe de la lame est rhomboïdale. Les tranchants sont d'abord légèrement incurvés, puis ils sont presque rectilignes en convergeant vers la pointe, qui actuellement est arrondie. Aussi bien par sa poignée que par sa lame, cette pièce diffère des poignards chinois que nous connaissons.¹⁾ Patine verdâtre et couleur du laiton.

Le poignard paraît être fait à la fonte dans un moule à double valve. Les bavures de la poignée, dues à la fonte, ne sont pas ou sont à peine retouchées.

Longueur 289 millimètres. Epaisseur de la lame 6 millimètres. Longueur du pommeau 33 millimètres.

Comme nous venons de le dire, cette arme diffère beaucoup des poignards chinois que nous avons eu l'occasion d'étudier, mais la partie inférieure de sa poignée ressemble à la partie correspondante de certaines épées trouvées en Europe et qui datent de l'âge du bronze ancien. Je donne ici à toutes fins utiles la reproduction fig. 16, d'une épée, trouvée à Spandau et qui appartient au Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (I f. 210). Une pièce pourvue d'une poignée d'une forme analogue provenant de Saint-Genouph (Indre-et-Loire) France (Musée de Tours), est reproduite dans l'ouvrage bien connu de G. et A. de Mortillet, *Le Musée préhistorique* (1881), fig. 713.

Nous nous sommes permis de faire cette comparaison, mais de là à conclure que le poignard Pl. XV: 4 et les armes européennes du type fig. 16 seraient d'une même époque, il y a loin.

Le Musée national des antiquités, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, possède un poignard (n:o 15706) en bronze (ou en cuivre?), Pl. XVI: 1 a—e, qui a été découvert en Indo-Chine dans un tumulus à To-Luh sur la ligne du chemin de fer de Teu-Baï, à Loc-Kaï, Haute Vallée du Fleuve Rouge et non loin de la frontière du Yünnan.



Fig. 16. Poignée d'épée en bronze. Provenance: Spandau, Allemagne. Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin). D'après une photographie, publiée avec l'autorisation du Musée. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

¹⁾ Selon M. O. Karlbeck (communication orale) il existe dans la collection du capitaine William Mayer (Peking) un poignard en bronze qui présente quelques traits semblables à celui que nous avons reproduit Pl. XV: 4.

La poignée qui se rétrécit légèrement un peu au-dessous du milieu, est à coupe ovale pointue. A la partie supérieure nous voyons un léger renflement (Pl. XVI: 1 d). Malgré le mauvais état de conservation de cette pièce, il est néanmoins possible d'y distinguer un décor gravé disposé en zones parallèles. Sur une face, nous voyons un dessin en forme de rhombe. Il existe des deux côtés du rhombe un point et au dessus d'un de ces points une petite ligne courbée comme une virgule. Peut-être y avait-il une ligne semblable de l'autre côté du rhombe, mais actuellement il n'est pas possible de la distinguer. Dans le bas de la poignée, nous voyons un dessin en forme de $\langle \rangle$.

L'autre face de la poignée est aussi ornée de zones, mais c'est à peine si nous pouvons y distinguer le décor. Peut-être y a-t-il dans une des zones deux petits points ronds et quelques traits droits. Dans le bas nous voyons un dessin analogue à celui qui se voit à la place correspondante sur l'autre face, mais ici il est possible de distinguer à droite quelques menues lignes spiriformes.

Il est pratiqué à la base de la poignée un trou rond par lequel on a peut-être fait passer une courroie ou quelque chose de semblable, destinée à suspendre le poignard à une ceinture.

La garde, qui est minuscule, affecte dans son état actuel la forme d'une plaque ovale, pointue, mais il est difficile d'établir avec exactitude si c'est la forme primitive, étant donné le fait que les rebords sont assez détériorés. Il existe à la partie supérieure des traces d'un décor gravé qui comporte des spirales, un triangle à double trait et quelques lignes droites et courbes (Pl. XVI: 1 b, c).

La lame, très fruste, est plate et porte sur les deux faces un décor gravé dont nous pouvons à peine distinguer quelques traces. Cette ornementation se compose sur une des faces de deux lignes parallèles qui forment une pointe, dont les côtés sont rompus et qui, dans son milieu, est divisée en deux par une double ligne verticale. De chaque côté de cette dernière ligne, nous voyons de faibles traces de deux motifs décoratifs, chacun en forme d'un 3(?) ou d'une spirale (Pl. XVI: 1 e).

De l'autre côté nous voyons les traces de quelques doubles lignes droites et courbes, qui sont peut-être les restes d'un décor analogue à celui que nous reproduisons ici, Pl. XVI: 1 e.

Patine d'un vert foncé. La surface est rugueuse. Traces d'un enduit rougeâtre. Longueur totale env. 245 millimètres.

Comme nous venons de le dire, le Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi) possède un poignard analogue à celui que nous venons de décrire et qui a été trouvé au Tonkin. Nous en reproduisons la poignée ici, fig. 17, d'après un croquis fait par M. O. Karlbeck.

La poignée, à section ovale et s'amincissant légèrement vers la lame, est ornée de spirales et de menues stries parallèles disposées en zones. Au milieu de la poignée se voit un dessin qui peut-être est destiné à reproduire une grenouille stylisée.

La lame est presque triangulaire. Les tranchants, assez frustes, sont au milieu légèrement convexes. J'ignore si le poignard est pourvu ou non d'une garde.

Longueur totale env. 260 millimètres.

En ce qui concerne le décor, nous devons dire un mot ici au sujet des grenouilles. C'est un motif décoratif très répandu en Indo-Chine à l'âge du bronze. Il paraît souvent sur les tambours en bronze qui y ont été trouvés, et où "leur présence s'expliquerait par des croyances communes à tous les peuples de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale, et d'après lesquelles le coassement des batraciens appelle et annonce la pluie fécondante, indispensable pour les champs ensemencés".¹⁾

Les grenouilles se voient aussi peut-être sur le pic d'arme rituelle (fig. 11, p. 114) qui a été trouvé dans le delta tonkinois. Selon M. Goloubew (lettre à O. J.) cette arme doit dater du premier ou second siècle de notre ère, mais je ne connais pas les raisons qu'a M. Goloubew d'assigner cette date à l'arme en question.

POINTES DE LANCE.

Il existe au Pitt Rivers Museum (Oxford) une pointe de lance en bronze²⁾ qui provient de la Birmanie. La lame affecte à peu près la même forme qu'une feuille de laurier. La douille qui est fragmentaire continue, en s'aminçissant, jusqu'à l'extrémité de la flamme. Celle-là est à section transversale circulaire. La pièce est faite à la fonte, et non martelée. Longueur 161 millimètres.

¹⁾ V. Goloubew, *L'âge du Bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX (1929), p. 4. M. Goloubew donne *ibid.* la bibliographie concernant les tambours en bronze de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale.

²⁾ *A Spear-head and Socketed Celt of Bronze from the Shan States, Burma* in *Man*, n:o 77 (1901), p. 97, Pl. G. — Cf. notre article, *Quelques antiquités chinoises d'un caractère hallstattien* in *Bull. Mus. Far East. Ant.*, t. II, Pl. II: 5.

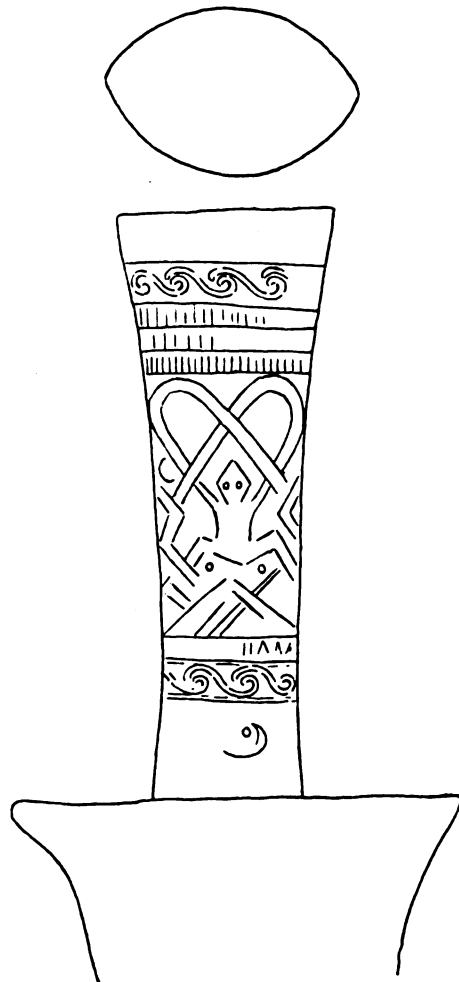


Fig. 17. Poignée de poignard en bronze. Provenance: Indo-Chine. Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi). D'après un dessin fait par M. O. Karlbeck. Grandeur 1/1.

Selon M. Henry Balfour¹⁾ cette arme a été trouvée par un indigène dans la rivière de Nam Lwi (Birmanie), affluent du Mékong, à un endroit situé à 21° 20' lat. N. et 100° long. E.

L'indigène qui avait découvert ce monument était persuadé que la tête de lance était tombée du ciel en même temps que la foudre et que l'arme en question devrait remonter à la surface du sol à la consommation des temps.

Par conséquent nous avons lieu de supposer que la croyance d'une origine céleste des pointes de lance doit exister dans l'Extrême-Orient. Ce fait n'est pas dépourvu d'intérêt. Rappelons-nous à ce propos qu'en Europe la tête de lance a joué un grand rôle dans certaines cérémonies religieuses. La lance a souvent été considérée comme un symbole; c'était l'insigne de la domination. Ainsi p. ex., la puissance royale était conférée par une lance chez des peuples comme les Francs, les Longobards etc.²⁾

La lance était réservée aux hommes libres et si un serf était pris en contravention, il "devait se laisser briser sur le dos la hampe de l'arme qu'il avait portée au mépris des lois".³⁾

Selon les recommandations d'Odin⁴⁾, l'homme avant de mourir devait se blesser avec une tête de lance pour arriver, après la mort, au Valhalla, le paradis des Vikings. Dans les pays du Nord, la lance a autrefois joué un grand rôle dans les cérémonies qui avaient trait à la mort. C'est peut-être une des raisons pourquoi le défunt dans ces pays, partait si souvent pour son voyage posthume, armé d'une ou de plusieurs lances.

Nous avons déjà attiré l'attention sur le fait que des pointes de lances semblables à celle trouvée dans la rivière de Nam Lwi caractérisent en Europe la civilisation de Hallstatt (Autriche).⁵⁾

Le rapprochement que nous avons fait, nous paraît d'autant plus plausible que le type est représenté aussi en Chine, en Sibérie et dans la Russie orientale.

Le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient possède une tête de lance (n:o 10462) en bronze, de patine noirâtre et qui affecte à peu près la même forme que l'arme trouvée dans la rivière de Nam Lwi, mais celle-là est pourvue de deux ocellières placées à la base de la douille. Nous y voyons aussi, des deux côtés, un décor zoomorphe.

Cette pièce a été acquise à Peking.

¹⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁾ L. Lindenschmit, *Handbuch der deutschen Alterthumskunde*, p. 162.

³⁾ "Ut servi lanceas non portant. Qui inventus fuerit post bannum hasta frangatur in dorso eius." (Boretius, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, t. II, p. 123). Cf. M. Besson, *L'art barbare dans l'ancien diocèse de Lausanne*, p. 202.

⁴⁾ Voir à ce sujet Hugo Jungner, *Den gottländska runbildstenen från Sanda in Fornvännan*, 1930, fasc. 2, p. 74 sqs.

⁵⁾ Olov Janse, *Quelques antiquités chinoises d'un caractère hallstattien* in *The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, Bull. n:o 2 (1930), p. 178 et Pl. II: 5.

Nous retrouvons des pointes de lance en bronze d'un même type à Minoussinsk¹⁾ dans le gouvernement de Jénisséïsk (Sibérie), à Tomsk²⁾ et dans la Russie orientale³⁾, où il est très fréquent et appartient selon M. Tallgren à l'âge récent du bronze.⁴⁾

Nous reproduisons Pl. XVI: 3 une pointe de lance en bronze qui provient de Subsang chu, Thais de la Haute Rivière Noire, canton du Tuang Giao, Tonkin. Elle appartient au Musée de Saint-Germain (n:o 32572).

La flamme est lancéolée et assez fortement profilée, Pl. XVI: 3 c. Au milieu, il existe une arête; de chaque côté de celle-ci nous voyons une partie oblongue en creux. La douille, à coupe légèrement ovale, est fragmentaire. Patine verdâtre et noire. Longueur 106 millimètres. C'est le seul spécimen de ce type de lance trouvé en Indo-Chine que nous connaissions.

J'ignore si la pointe du type Pl. XVI: 3 est représentée aussi en Sibérie ou en Russie d'Europe, mais nous devons mentionner ici, à toutes fins utiles, qu'il existe dans les collections du Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm) quelques pointes de lance en bronze analogues à la pièce reproduite Pl. XVI: 3. L'une, fig 18 a, provient de Gårdö, commune de Gällstad, Vestrogothie, Suède occidentale (n:o 11631), l'autre, fig. 18 b, a été trouvée ensemble avec 5 pièces analogues dans le marais d'Å (Åmossen), commune de Stora Slågarp, Scanie, Suède méridionale (n:o 2549). Longueur resp. 170 millimètres (n:o 11631) et 180 millimètres (n:o 2549). Montelius classe ces objets dans sa quatrième période de l'âge du bronze, qui va du commencement du XI^e siècle au milieu de X^e siècle.

Les lances de ce type ne sont pas fréquentes en Suède. Peut-être ont-elles été introduites de l'étranger ou fabriquées d'après des modèles étrangers? Cela est tout à fait possible, car la tête de lance provenant de Gårdö a été trouvée dans un lieu d'où proviendrait un celt en bronze semblable à celui qui est reproduit ici fig.

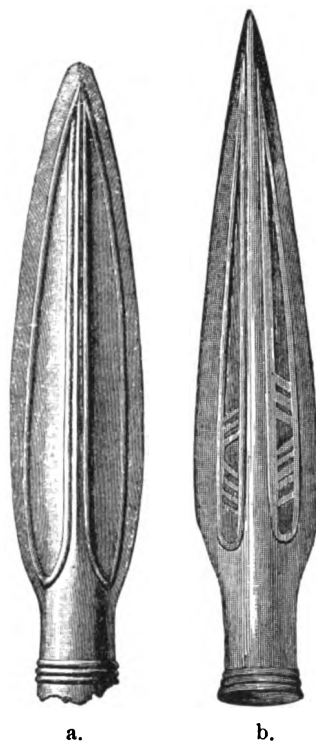


Fig. 18. Pointes de lance en bronze. Provenance: a) Gårdö, commune de Gällstad, Vestrogothie, Suède occidentale. b) Åmossen, commune de Stora Slågarp, Scanie, Suède méridionale. D'après O. Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 1084, 1086. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

¹⁾ Fr. Martin, *L'âge du Bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk*, Pl. 25: 3.

²⁾ J. R. Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien*, t. I (*Age de la pierre et âge du bronze*), fig. 249.

³⁾ A. M. Tallgren, *Coll. Zaoussailov*, t. I, fig. 7, 8.

⁴⁾ *Op. cit.*, t. I, p. 14.

19. Ce celt a été déterré à Bräcke (Bräckan), commune de Järn, Dal, Suède occidentale. Or, c'est un type qui est aussi peu fréquent en Suède, mais très commun en Sibérie p. ex. à Minoussinsk, gouvernement de Jénisséisk.¹⁾



Fig. 19.

Celt en bronze pourvu de deux anneaux. Provenance: Bräcke (Bräckan), commune de Järn, Dal, Suède occidentale. D'après O. Montelius, *Album préhistorique*, fig. 1060.

Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

L'exemplaire de Bräcke est à coupe hexagonale et pourvu de deux anses dont une est fragmentaire, et aplatie. Il est orné, sur les deux faces, de stries parallèles, verticales, en creux.

Je n'en connais que deux autres exemplaires analogues, trouvés en Scandinavie. L'un d'eux provient de Nygårds, Butle, île de Gotland.²⁾ Seule l'une des anses a été utilisée, l'autre n'a pas été perforée. D'après M. H. Hansson³⁾ cette pièce appartient à la V^e période qui, selon le système chronologique de Montelius, va du milieu du X^e siècle au milieu du VIII^e siècle.

Le Musée National (Copenhague) possède l'autre hache de ce type.⁴⁾ Elle a été trouvée dans la commune de Vesterbølle, Jutland. Citons aussi la trouvaille en Suède (à Flädie, commune d'Alfshög, Halland) d'un moule de hache à deux anses.⁵⁾ Il date de la V^e période de Montelius. Cf. p. 121.

Les haches à deux anses sont peu fréquentes dans l'Europe du Nord et dans l'Europe occidentale mais sont très communes en Russie et en Sibérie.⁶⁾

Le moule que nous venons de citer est fabriqué dans une roche verte qui se rencontre non seulement en Scandinavie mais aussi en Russie orientale.⁷⁾

Si les haches et le moule en question n'ont pas été introduits en Scandinavie de Russie ou de Sibérie, ils ont certainement dû être fabriqués d'après des modèles, propres à ces pays.

Notons à ce sujet qu'il existe en Suède un assez grand nombre d'antiquités, datant de l'âge du bronze, qui ont des affinités avec des monuments analogues provenant de la Russie ou de la Sibérie. Je ne cite que les haches dites du type de la vallée du lac Maelar (Suède centrale) qui sont connues aussi dans la Russie orientale, notamment dans les provinces de Viatka et de Kazan⁸⁾; deux celts sans

¹⁾ Cf. Fr. Martin, *L'âge du Bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk*, Pl. I: 4.

²⁾ H. Hansson, *Gotlands bronsålder*, Pl. 19: 101 (St. H. M. 2668).

³⁾ *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁴⁾ A. Oldeberg, "Bräckanfyndet" — ett gjutfynd från bronsålderns fjärde period in *Rig.* t. XII (1929), p. 40.

⁵⁾ Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 1184.

⁶⁾ Cf. Hoernes, *Kultur der Urzeit*, t. II, fig. 34.

⁷⁾ A. M. Tallgren, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland* in *S. M. Y. A.*, XXV, p. 169, fig. 1, 2 et p. 187, fig. 112, 113.

⁸⁾ Cf. O. Janse, *En i Lithauen funnen brons-celt av s. k. Mälardalstyp* in *Fornvännen* (Stockholm), t. 24, année 1929, p. 176, notes et fig. 73.

ances et à coupe ovale, trouvés l'un en Laponie¹⁾, l'autre dans la province d'Upland (Suède centrale)²⁾; des couteaux en bronze du type Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 1017—1019, 1252; H. Hansson, *Gotlands bronsålder*, Pl. 9; *Fornvånnen* 1912, p. 120, fig. 58; *Fornvånnen* 1915, *Tillv.* p. 41, fig. 4; Nordén, *Östergötlands bronsålder*, Pl. IV: 9, 18.³⁾

Il existe au Musée Guimet (Paris) une pointe de lance en bronze (Coll. Pouyanne F. 204) qui est du même type que celui que nous reproduisons ici fig. 20 mais la douille, à coupe circulaire, se continue dans la lame en s'amincissant vers la pointe. La flamme est lancéolée. Sa base est pourvue d'une barre transversale. Longueur totale de la pointe env. 250 millimètres. Elle provient de Thanhhoa dans le Nord-Annam.

Nous ignorons quelle est la chronologie de cette pièce, mais nous avons lieu de signaler qu'il existe au Musée Guimet (Coll. Pouyanne) plusieurs autres bronzes qui proviennent de Thanhhoa et qui appartiennent à un groupe qui, selon M. Goloubew, date des premiers siècles après J.-C. Nous savons aussi que des armes en bronze étaient fabriquées en Indo-Chine jusqu'au IV^e siècle après J.-C. et que certaines armes en bronze ayant un caractère symbolique ou rituel ont été employées encore plus tard.⁴⁾ Par conséquent nous avons lieu de penser que cette pièce peut dater d'une période qui comprend les cinq premiers siècles de notre ère.

Cette pièce est particulièrement intéressante à cause de ses ailerons ou de sa barre transversale placée à la base de la flamme.

A quoi ont servi ces ailerons? Je suis persuadé qu'ils ont rempli une fonction utilitaire, mais laquelle? Les soldats romains ont utilisé des pointes de lance de ce type pour y attacher des paquets.⁵⁾

Mais les ailerons n'ont-ils pas eu aussi une autre fonction, savoir de servir de point d'attache pour les fanions ou dracones qui ont été employés aussi bien en Extrême-Orient qu'en Europe.

Dans l'Occident les fanions furent employés à l'époque des Vikings (800—1050), si non déjà avant cette période. Von le Coq a, en effet, attiré l'attention sur les

¹⁾ Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, n:o 1179.

²⁾ Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, n:o 1180. Des haches de ce type sont représentées aussi dans la Russie orientale. Cf. Tallgren, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzezeit in Nord- und Ostrussland*, in S. M. Y. A., t. XXV, p. 193; *Congr. intern.* Sthlm. 1874, p. 491, fig. 1; Ekholm, *Upplands bronsålder*, fig. 58; Tallgren, *Coll. Zaoussailov*, t. I, Pl. XIV (type d'Ananino).

³⁾ Des couteaux analogues sont représentés p. ex. à Minoussinsk. Martin, *L'âge du bronze au Musée de Minoussinsk*, Pl. 12: 24; Tallgren, *Collection Tobostine*, Pl. V: 20; Aspelin, *Antiquités du Nord finno-ougrien*, fig. 199.

⁴⁾ Vayson de Pradenne dans *l'Anthropologie* 1924, p. 500 sqs.

⁵⁾ "Wir wissen von den Römern, dass sie ihr Gepäck an der Lanzenspitze getragen haben; hierzu, wie zum Auf- und Anhängen von mancherlei Sachen, war das Geräth gut zu gebrauchen." Gustav Guthknecht, *Geflügelte Lanzenspitzen in Zeitschrift f. Ethn.*, t. 30, Berlin 1898, *Verhandlungen*, p. (110) sqs.



Fig. 20. Pointe de lance en fer, trouvée dans l'Yonne, près de Sens (France). Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm), n:o 17767. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

fanions reproduits sur la tapisserie, bien connue, de la reine Mathilde, actuellement conservée au Musée de Bayeux. Ces fanions sont du même type que ceux qui existaient en Extrême-Orient. Von le Coq dit à ce sujet:¹⁾ "Auf der berühmten Stickerei von Bayeux — — hat die Königin Mathilde uns die Fahnenformen geschildert, mit denen die normänischen Abenteurer in England eingeritten sind."

"Wir finden darunter die 'dracones' oder Drachenfahnen, von denen wir wissen, dass die Römer sie bei den Parthern kennen gelernt haben." — — —

"Schon im 9. Jahrhundert findet sich die Abbildung einer Drachenfahne im *Psalterium aureum* zu St Gallen: sie kommen in allen Formen der 'Tapisserie de Bayeux' — — — auf unseren Wandgemälden in Kutscha und Karaschar vor."

Il est à remarquer que les pointes de lance que reproduit le *Psalterium aureum* sont pourvues d'une barre transversale.

Les pointes de lance à ailerons du type fig. 20 étaient assez fréquentes dans l'Europe à l'époque de Vikings. Nous savons que plusieurs types d'armes employés alors dans l'occident comme p. ex. des épées²⁾, des pointes de flèche³⁾, les cottes de mailles etc. présentent des affinités avec des armes analogues en usage à cette époque en Asie et en Extrême-Orient. Nous pensons par conséquent qu'il est parfaitement admissible de comparer la pointe de lance de Thanhhoa et celles qui ont été trouvées en Europe, et qui sont du type fig. 20.

A ce sujet nous devons mentionner qu'il existe en Indo-Chine un groupe de pointes de lances dont la base de la flamme est pourvue de deux ou de quatre trous rectangulaires. Peut-être ses trous ont-ils servi aussi à fixer des fanions. On a prétendu qu'ils ont été pratiqués pour contenir du poison. C'est pourtant une hypothèse qui ne tient pas debout, car le poison aurait évidemment été placé non à la base de la flamme mais à la pointe.

Je connais une dizaine d'armes de ce type provenant

¹⁾ Von Land und Leuten, p. 174.

²⁾ von le Coq, Von Land und Leuten, p. 172. Cf. *Epées anciennes*, p. 82 in *Bull. Mus. Far Eastern Antiquities* n:o 2.

³⁾ Arne, *La Suède et l'Orient*, fig. 341.

toutes du Tonkin ou de l'Annam du Nord. Parmi elles, deux sont conservées au Musée Cernuschi (nous en reproduisons une ici, fig. 21), les autres appartiennent au Musée Guimet (collection Pouyanne).

Les pièces qui se trouvent au Musée Cernuschi ont été acquises par M. V. Demange (Epinal). D'après ce que m'a communiqué M. Demange, ces pièces proviennent de Thanhóa. Celles du Musée Guimet doivent provenir du Tonkin ou du Nord-Annam.

Peut-être ce modèle d'arme remonte-t-il au même type de lance que reproduit M. A. M. Tallgren, *Collection Zaoussailov* I, Pl. VIII: 1—4, 6, 7, et qui est représenté aussi bien en Russie qu'en Sibérie. En Russie, ces pièces sont contemporains d'objets qui datent de la fin de l'âge du bronze, comme p. ex. des pointes de flèche triangulaires scythiques, en bronze, des couteaux en fer, etc.¹⁾

L'original de la pointe de lance reproduite ici Pl. XVI:2 provient de la région de Luang-Prabang (Haut-Laos). Elle est conservée au Musée de Saint-Germain (n:o 32576), où elle a été apportée par la mission Pavie.²⁾

La pièce en question est fragmentaire, mais ce qui en reste nous permet de nous faire une idée de sa forme primitive. La lame, à coupe rhomboïdale, se continue insensiblement dans la douille qui est circulaire. Les tranchants sont évidemment un peu courbes. Patine noirâtre et verte. Longueur env. 125 millimètres.

Je ne connais pas d'autres pièces analogues provenant de l'Extrême-Asie méridionale. Des pointes d'un caractère semblable se retrouvent en Scandinavie. Ce type y fait complètement défaut à l'âge du bronze et apparaît seulement au III^e siècle après J.-C. et toujours fait en fer. Il est évident qu'il ne faut pas tirer trop de conclusions de ces ressemblances, mais je crois néanmoins devoir attirer l'attention sur les faits suivants.

¹⁾ Cf. Tallgren, *Coll. Zaoussailov*, t. I, p. 29. Primitivement les trous de ces pointes de lance sont probablement dus à un procédé d'emmanchement analogue à celui qui est reproduit in *British Museum. A Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze age* (1920), fig. 173.

²⁾ En ce qui concerne la mission Pavie voir p. ex. *Histoire de France contemporaine de 1871 à 1913*, p. 394 (Librairie Larousse. Sans nom d'auteur et sans date d'impression).

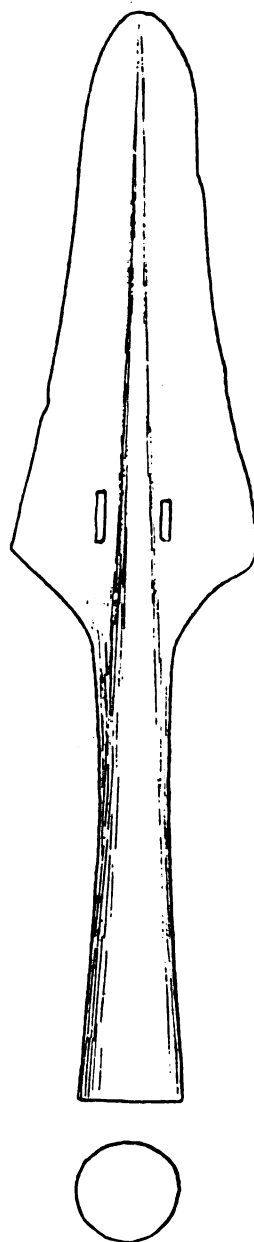


Fig. 21. Pointe de lance en bronze. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi (Paris). D'après un dessin fait par l'auteur. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

Quelques-unes de ces armes sont incrustées d'argent.

Or, le procédé d'incrustation d'argent a peut-être été inventé aux Indes.¹⁾ De là, il a gagné, d'un côté la Chine, où il fut pratiqué à l'époque des Han, de l'autre côté la Russie méridionale, où il apparaît à peu près simultanément.

Il existe au Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, à Hanoi, deux pointes de lance en bronze que nous reproduisons ici, fig. 22, 23, d'après des croquis qui ont été faits sur place par M. Orvar Karlbeck.

Elles ont des lames à coupe rhomboïdale. Leur douille est ronde ou ovale. L'une est ornée de doubles spirales et de deux motifs en forme de virgules, l'autre est dépourvue de décor. Ces pointes de lance mesurent en longueur, l'une (celle qui est ornée) 200 millimètres, l'autre env. 260 millimètres.

La double spirale qui est un motif très répandu en Eurasie se rencontre sur d'autres objets, trouvés en Indo-Chine (fig. 17, Pl. XVI: 1 b et Goloubew, *Op. cit.*, fig. 13, 14 et Pl. XV: A, B, D, E) et au Yünnan, p. ex. sur les haches reproduites dans notre article *Antiquités chinoises* dans ce *Bulletin* n:o 2, Pl. I: 1 et sur la plaque discoïde en bronze, fig. 27. Les spirales de cette dernière pièce ont la forme d'esses couchées, reliées ensemble. Cet objet, pourvu à la face postérieure d'un crochet, a peut-être servi de plaque de ceinture.²⁾

La double spirale se voit aussi sur des tambours en bronze (cf. Heger, *Op. cit.*, Pl. XXXVI: 40, 41 sqs.). Elle est représentée dans l'art de l'Indonésie (Goloubew, *Op. cit.*, fig. 21).

M. J. G. Andersson a bien voulu attirer mon attention sur un certain nombre de pointes de lance en bronze (Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:os 11000: 371, 11000: 369, 11035: 18, 10600: 17), ornées de doubles spirales en relief et vraisemblablement provenant de la vallée du Yang-tsé-kiang. Nous voyons ce motif aussi sur de menus objets en bronze trouvés dans la vallée de Huai-ho (Sirén, *A History of early Chinese Art*, t. I, Pl. 90: D, 91: C) et dans la province d'Ordos (p. ex. M. A. E. O., n:o 11003: 687).

En Europe le motif de la double spirale devient fréquent sur les objets en bronze déjà au commencement de l'âge du bronze.

Nous reproduisons ici fig. 24 une autre pointe de lance semblable à celle de la fig. 23, mais dont la douille, qui continue dans la lame, forme une arête arrondie. Elle provient probablement de Thanhóa, Annam du Nord et mesure env. 100 cm. en longueur. Patine verdâtre. Elle a été acquise par le Musée Cernuschi (n:o 7365), Paris.

¹⁾ M. Rostovtzeff, *Inlaid bronzes of the Han Dynasty* (Paris et Bruxelles 1927), p. 66.

²⁾ Des monuments de forme et de décor analogues ont été reproduits dans les *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'Homme*, vol 22 (1888), p. 357, fig. 168 (Koban-le-Haut, Caucase) et par Montelius, *Album préhistorique de la Suède*, fig. 955 (Halland, Suède), 954 (Scanie, Suède).

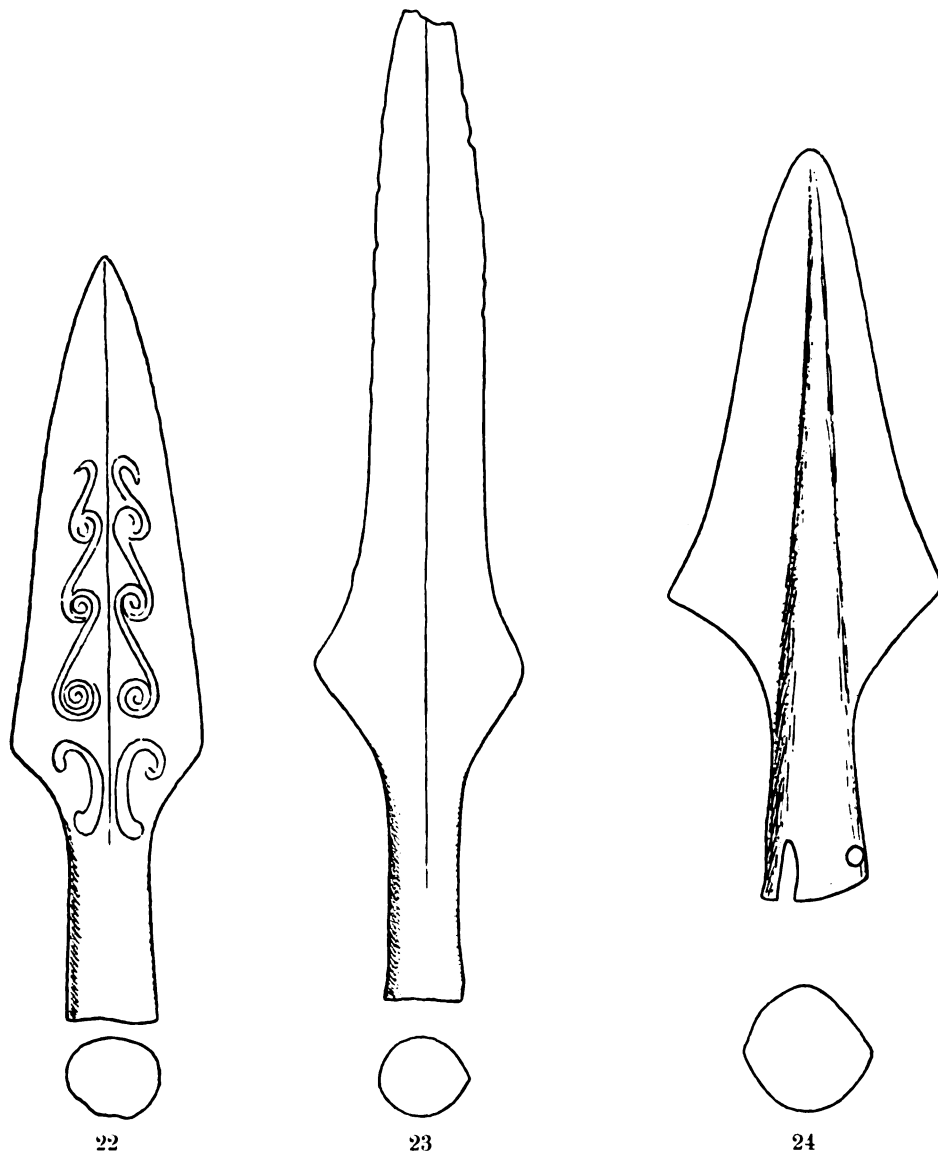


Fig. 22, 23. Pointes de lance en bronze. Indo-Chine. D'après des dessins faits par M. O. Karlbeck. Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi).
Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

Fig. 24. Pointe de lance en bronze. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi (Paris). D'après un dessin fait par l'auteur.
Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

Il existe des pointes de lance semblables provenant de la Chine dans la Collection von Hallwyl (Stockholm) ainsi qu'au Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient (n:o 4073). Ce même type est aussi représenté à Java.¹⁾

¹⁾ Cf. Thomas Haniford Raffles, *History of Java*, Planches sans n:o (Javan weapons and standards), London 1830.

INSTRUMENTS AGRICOLES.

Nous allons décrire maintenant quelques pièces en bronze que nous avons lieu de qualifier d'instruments agricoles. Ceux-ci proviennent principalement du Yünnan et de l'Indo-Chine, mais nous parlerons aussi, à titre de comparaison, de quelques outils qui ont été trouvés dans la Mongolie.

Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances il est souvent difficile d'établir l'usage exact de ces pièces, mais vraisemblablement il s'agit de socs de charrue, de houe et de pelles.

Le type qui, peut-être, est le plus curieux est reproduit ici, Pl. XVII: 1. C'est vraisemblablement une houe ou un soc de charrue.¹⁾ Cette pièce, acquise à Yünnanfu, provient certainement de la province de ce nom. Elle a la forme d'un celt dont la douille, à coupe d'ovale pointu, continue en s'aminçant vers la partie inférieure. Juste au dessous de l'orifice nous voyons trois bourrelets, à peu près parallèles, qui ornent les deux faces. Le limbe de la lame est à peu près semi-ovale. Le rebord est arrondi et très large. Il existe sur les deux faces de la lame de fines stries qui vont dans le sens longitudinal, du "tranchant" jusqu'aux bourrelets. Ces stries semblent indiquer de même que la grande épaisseur du "tranchant", que cet outil n'a pas été utilisé comme hache mais comme houe ou comme soc de charrue. Sur la face on voit des deux côtés quelques menues cavités irrégulières qui proviennent peut-être de la fonte.

La patine est brune et verdâtre, par endroits à couleur du laiton.

Les dimensions sont les suivantes: longueur totale 132 millimètres; largeur maxima 79 millimètres; largeur de la douille 33 millimètres; largeur du "tranchant" 5 millimètres; longueur de la douille 100 millimètres.

Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient n:o 11034: 43.

Je ne connais pas d'autres pièces analogues trouvées dans l'Extrême-Orient, mais il existe en Sibérie et en Europe²⁾ des socs de charrue semblables en fer. Ceux qui proviennent d'Europe et auxquels nous faisons allusion appartiennent à l'époque de la Tène. Mais ces outils ont, à la place d'une douille, des ailettes. Ces différences peuvent toutefois s'expliquer par l'emploi de métaux différents. Pour les objets en bronze, la douille convient certainement mieux que les ailettes, étant donné le fait que le bronze est un métal dur et cassant. Pour les objets en fer martelé, les ailettes remplacent naturellement la douille, étant donné la flexibilité du fer.

Les pièces dont nous venons de parler présentent aussi quelques ressemblances avec un soc de charrue en rhyolithe qui provient du gisement de Linn-si, situé

¹⁾ En ce qui concerne l'histoire générale du soc de charrue, voir Paul Leser, *Entstehung und Verbreitung des Pfluges* (Anthropos-Bibliothek, fasc. 3); Münster i. W., 1931.

²⁾ A. M. Tallgren, *Collection Zaoussailov*, t. II, p. 27 et Pl. IV: 34, 36. J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'archéologie (Epoque de la Tène)*, fig. 610.

au Nord du Sira Mouren, par 116° de longitude et 44 de latitude (Mongolie).¹⁾ Mais de là à conclure qu'elles sont d'une même famille, il y a loin.

Les outils que nous venons de décrire sont de dimensions assez faibles, mais cela s'explique facilement par le fait que le paysan chinois laboure en général la terre à très peu de profondeur.

Signalons à titre de comparaison que le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient possède un soc de charrue (n:o 4064) en fer qui ressemble beaucoup à celui qui est reproduit ici, Pl. XVII: 1, mais celui-là est plus grand que celui-ci. Une partie de la "douille" semble faire défaut. Les ailes ont été perforées dans le haut à deux endroits, de chaque côté de la douille. Celle-ci est pourvue sur l'une des faces de deux autres trous irréguliers. Une partie de la la pointe fait défaut. Longueur totale de cette pièce 255 millimètres. Largeur maxima 200 millimètres.

Ce soc de charrue a été acquis à l'Est de Molgachi, 40 km. au nord de Tabool (Mongolie).

Dans la Chine du Nord les paysans emploient encore de nos jours des socs de charrure d'une forme analogue à celle de l'outil de Molgachi, mais ceux-là sont plus pointus et en fer fondu. Ils sont fabriqués en plusieurs grandeurs.

Parmi les instruments agricoles que possède le Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, nous devons encore signaler ici trois pièces qui proviennent de Yünnan. Ce sont peut-être aussi des socs de charrue.

1. L'une d'elles (Pl. XVII: 2), particulièrement bien conservée, affecte la forme d'une plaque ovale, assez mince. L'une des faces est pourvue d'une douille, la partie supérieure est à coupe triangulaire, la partie inférieure à coupe semi-circulaire. La douille (coupée en biais à la partie supérieure) qui va en s'amincissant presque à la pointe, est ornée dans le haut, des deux côtés, de deux stries, parallèles à elles-mêmes et presque parallèles à l'orifice. L'un des côtés de la douille est pourvu de quatre trous irréguliers; de l'autre côté il n'y a qu'un seul trou. Une des ailes est aussi perforée près de la pointe. Sur les deux faces se voient des stries dans le sens longitudinal. Les rebords de l'outil sont frustes et la pointe de la lame légèrement courbe. La surface est en partie couverte d'un enduit verdâtre (restes de matières organiques?). Le bronze a par endroits une couleur brune, par endroits une couleur noirâtre. Voici les dimensions de cette pièce. Longueur 217 millimètres; largeur maxima 162 millimètres; épaisseur de la lame 2,5 millimètres. (N:o 11034: 34.)

2. L'autre pièce, fig. 25, ressemble à la précédente mais elle est plus détériorée. La pointe est tronquée ou fait peut-être défaut. La douille est pourvue de trois trous, un de chaque côté, et tous les trois placés l'un en face de l'autre. Longueur 195 millimètres; largeur maxima 160 millimètres. (N:o 11034: 35.)

Ces deux outils ont été acquis à Yünnanfu par M. O. Karlbeck.

¹⁾ E. Licent et P. Teilhard de Chardin, *Notes sur deux instruments agricoles du néolithique de Chine* in *L'Anthropologie*, t. XXXV, (1925), p. 63 sqs et fig. 3.

3. La troisième pièce, fig. 26, est faite d'une plaque semi-ovale en bronze. La douille, à coupe semi-circulaire, est pourvue des deux côtés et dans son milieu d'un trou presque rectangulaire. Ils sont placés l'un en face de l'autre; un autre

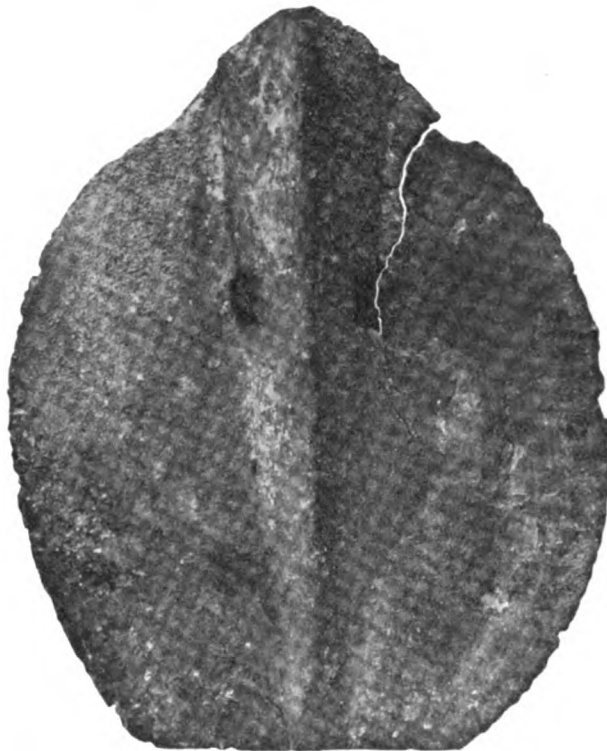


Fig. 25. Houe ou soc de charrue en bronze. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034:35. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

trou rond a été pratiqué dans la partie inférieure de la douille. Le rebord est fruste et la surface en partie assez rugueuse, en partie lisse. Patine verte.

Longueur 134 millimètres; largeur 144 millimètres; épaisseur des ailes env. 3,50 millimètres. (N:o 4032.)

Cette pièce a été acquise en Yünnan par Madame Signe Bergner (Stockholm) et offerte au Musée à titre de don.

Des pièces du même type que celles que nous venons d'étudier ne sont pas seulement représentées dans le Yünnan mais aussi en Indo-Chine. Nous connaissons un exemplaire qui provient du Tonkin.¹⁾

Il existe en Indo-Chine un autre type de houe ou de soc de charrue, fait d'une plaque généralement en forme de losange curviligne et qui semble apparenté à

¹⁾ Cf. V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin et dans le Nord-Annam* in *B. E. F. E.-O.*, t. XXIX (1929), p. 18, fig. 8 B.

ceux dont nous venons de parler. Trois exemplaires ont été trouvés à Dong-son, Annam du Nord et appartiennent au Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi) n^{os} I 19686, 19608 et 19707. Ils sont façonnés de la manière suivante: "à une douille conique s'attachent deux ailes aplaties dont la rencontre détermine une pointe arrondie".¹⁾

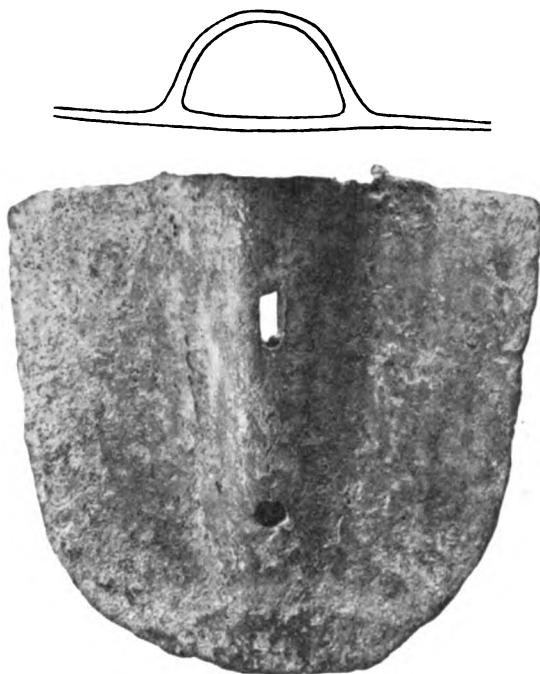


Fig. 26. Houe ou soc de charrue en bronze. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n^o 4032. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

Ces objets sont probablement synchroniques de quelques monuments chinois qui datent de l'époque des Han et qui ont été trouvés au même endroit que ces trois pièces. Un spécimen semblable, conservé au Musée Guimet²⁾ (Paris), a été déterré dans le Tonkin ou dans le Nord-Annam. Il affecte plutôt la forme d'un segment de demi-cercle. Sur chaque côté de la douille, le long des bords supérieurs, il y a un mince bourrelet à coupe semi-circulaire. Les ailes sont pourvues d'une face et de chaque côté de la douille d'un caractère archaïque en relief.

Peut-être s'agit-il ici d'une houe à destination rituelle?

* * *

Il ressort des matériaux, réunis par MM. J. G. Andersson et O. Karlbeck, et que nous venons de publier, qu'il s'est formé dans l'Extrême-Asie du Sud (les provinces

¹⁾ V. Goloubew, *Op. cit.*, p. 18, fig. 8 A.

²⁾ Collection Pouyanne.

méridionales de la Chine actuelle et l'Indo-Chine) un groupe de civilisation particulier qui est caractérisé notamment par divers objets en bronze: tambours, haches asymétriques, parfois pédiformes, haches ovalaires, celts pourvus d'une



Fig. 27. Plaque en bronze, ornée de doubles spirales. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n^o 11034: 33. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

oeillère unilatérale, des haches d'arme du type *ko*, des poignards, des pointes de lance, parfois perforées à la base de la flamme de deux ou de quatre trous rectangulaires, certains outils agricoles, etc. Le décor comporte des motifs géométriques: simples ou doubles spirales, lignes en zig-zag, stries, cercles radiés, etc. Nous voyons aussi des motifs zoomorphes, parfois très stylisés. Quand aux tambours, ils sont ornés d'une multitude d'autres motifs encore, comme on peut s'en rendre compte, notamment par l'ouvrage bien connu de F. Heger, *Alte Metalltrommeln aus Südost-Asien*.

Les objets ont souvent une patine vert foncé ou couleur du laiton, quelques-uns (p. ex. ceux de la collection Pouyanne au Musée Guimet; cf. p. 129, 131, 137) ont une patine vert clair semblable à celle qui caractérise certains objets de la vallée du Huai-ho.

Bien qu'il soit encore impossible d'assigner à ce groupe sud-occidental des dates fixes, nous avons néanmoins l'impression que la majorité des objets dont nous traitons ici appartiennent aux premiers siècles avant et après J.-C. Mais il y en a qui vraisemblablement sont plus anciens.

Les monuments qui caractérisent ce groupe semblent avoir subi des influences chinoises et sibériennes. Ils ont vraisemblablement à leur tour exercé une certaine influence sur l'industrie de l'Indonésie. Tant qu'il existe dans ces parties du monde de vastes régions encore presque inexplorées au point de vue archéologique, il est impossible pour le moment de déterminer quelles ont été les différentes voies de pénétration.

Etant donné le fait que les matériaux, dont nous traitons ici, appartiennent à des régions d'une énorme étendue, il est impossible à une seule personne de résoudre les nombreux problèmes qu'ils suggèrent. Pour en tirer tout le profit possible, il est nécessaire d'établir une étroite collaboration entre les archéologues et orientalistes dans les divers pays de l'Eurasie.

Dans l'état actuel des choses, il faut souvent se borner à publier et décrire les objets qui nous intéressent.

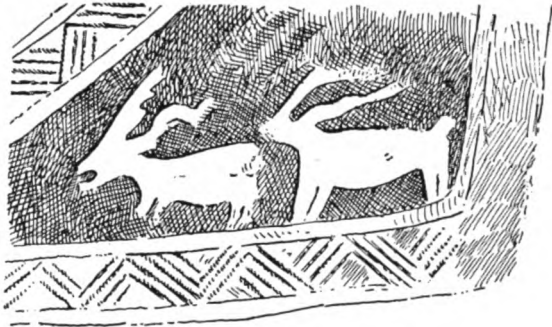
PLANCHE I

PLANCHE I.

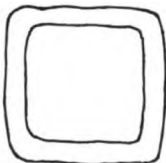
1. Détail du décor d'un ancien tambour en bronze. Tonkin. D'après H. Parmentier, *Anciens tambours de bronze* in *B. E. F. E. O.* (1918), Pl. III.
2. Détail du décor d'une hache pédiforme du type Pl. I:4. Indo-Chine. Musée de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient (Hanoi). D'après un croquis fait par M. O. Karlbeck. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
- 3 a, b. Arme pédiforme en fer. Provenance: Saleby, Vestrogothie, Suède occidentale. D'après une photographie. Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm), n:o 14415. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
- 4 a, b. Hache pédiforme. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi (Paris), n:o 7363. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.



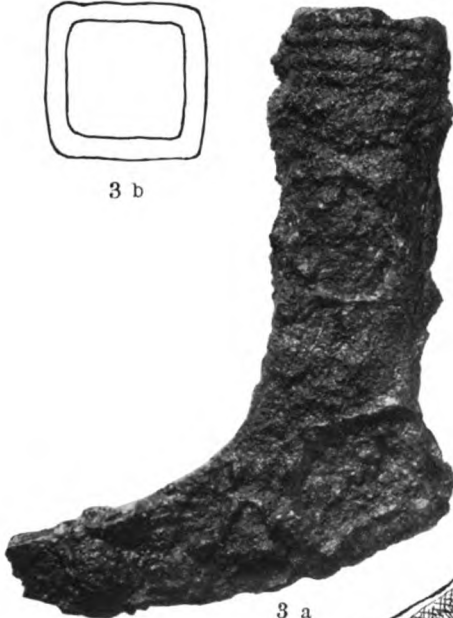
1



2



3 b



3 a



4 b



4 a

PLANCHE II

PLANCHE II.

Hache pédiforme en bronze vue de face et de profil. Acquisée à Yünnanfu (Yünnan). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 103. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

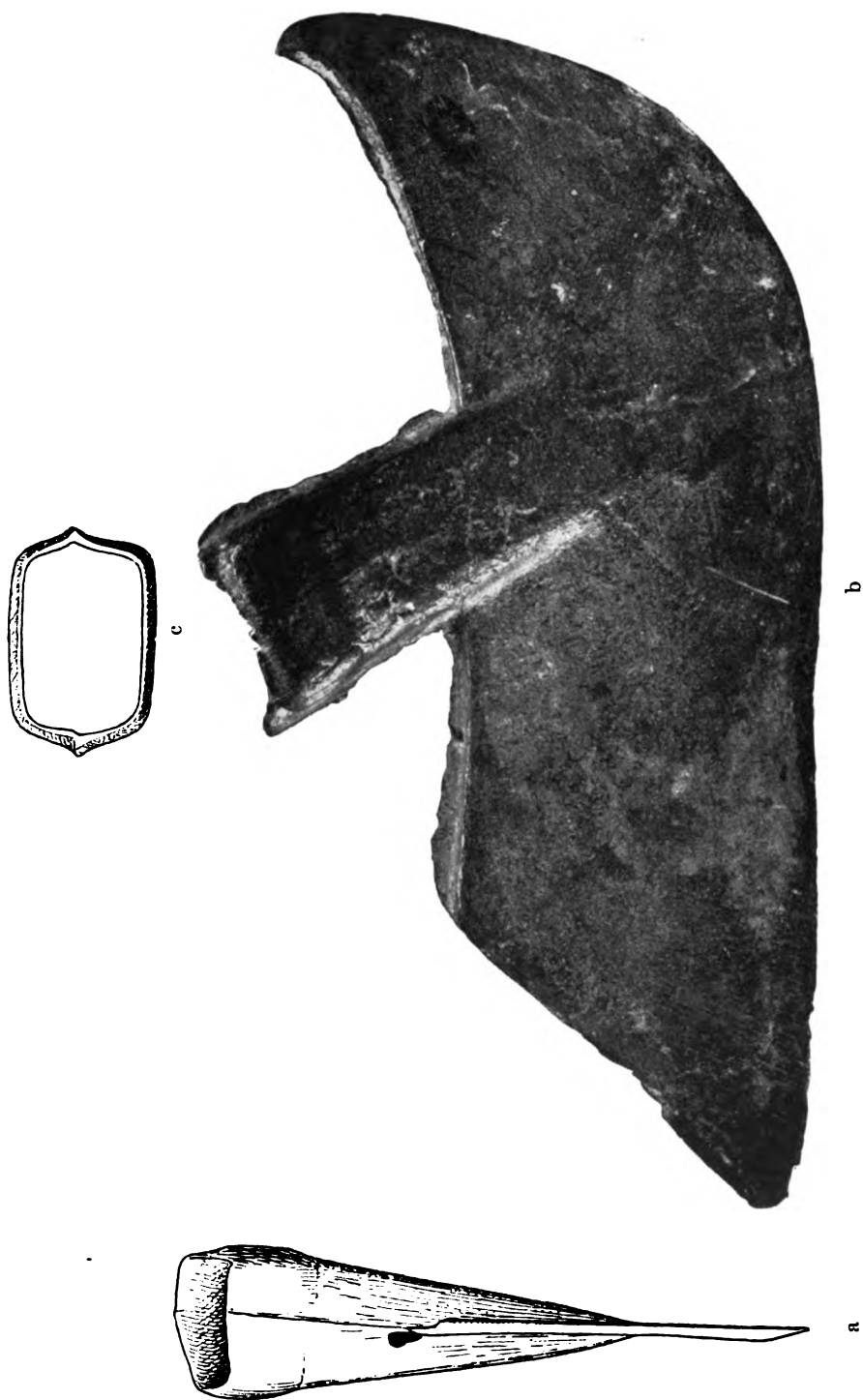


PLANCHE III

PLANCHE III.

- 1 a, b. Hache asymétrique en bronze vue de profil et de face. Provenance: Lo-yang (Honan), Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11071: 98. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
- 2 a, b, c. Hache pédiforme en bronze, vue de profil et de face. Chine. Provenance inconnue. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 4034: 12. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.



1 a



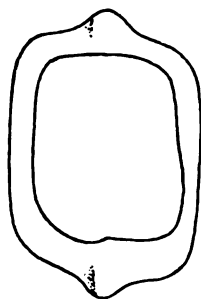
1 b



2 a



2 b



2 c

PLANCHE IV

PLANCHE IV.

1. Hache pédiforme en bronze. Tonkin. Anc. coll. V. Demange. D'après un moulage au Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 69582. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
2. Hache pédiforme. Tonkin. Probabl. anc. coll. Demange. D'après un moulage au Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 69586. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
3. Hache pédiforme en bronze. Tonkin. Probabl. anc. coll. Demange. D'après un moulage au Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 19581. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
- 4 a, b. Celt en bronze, vu de deux faces et orné de minces bourrelets. Provenance: région de Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Patine verte et noirâtre. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

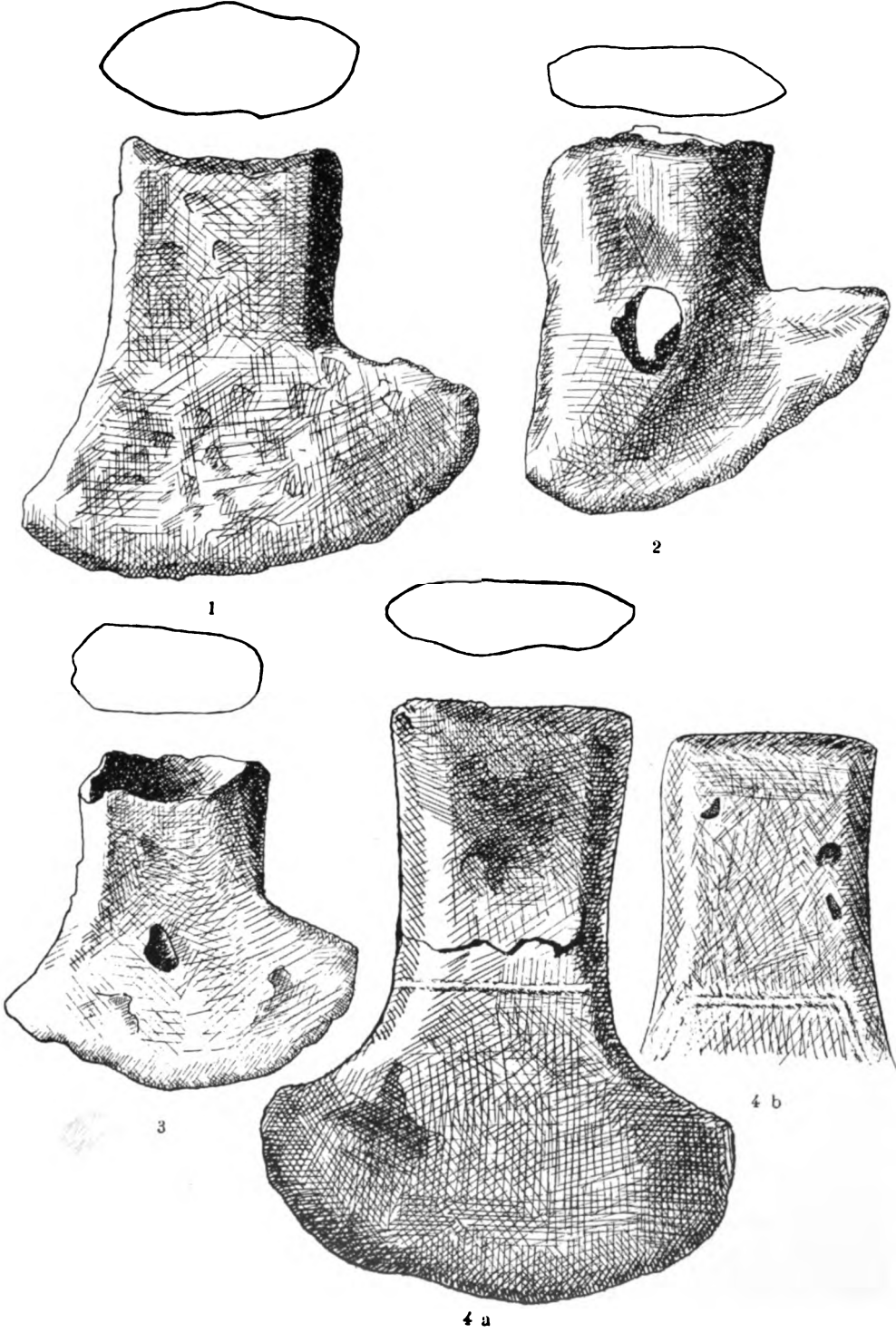


PLANCHE V

PLANCHE V.

Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

D'après des dessins faits par Mlle M. Chabance, Paris.

- 1 a, b. Hache pédiforme en bronze. Indo-Chine. Les deux faces sont perforées; (la fig. 1 b montre la forme d'un des trous). Patine noirâtre. Taches de vert-de-gris(?). Anc. coll. Demange. Musée Cernuschi, n:o 7358.
2. Hache pédiforme en bronze. Indo-Chine. Patine verte et noirâtre. Anc. coll. Demange. Musée Cernuschi, n:o 7361.
- 3 a, b. Hache pédiforme en bronze, vue de profil et de face. L'une des faces est perforée d'un petit trou rectangulaire. Tonkin. D'après un moulage au Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 69587.
4. Celt en bronze. Provenance: région de Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. L'une des faces est ornée d'un mince bourrelet, l'autre est unie. Patine noirâtre. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575.
5. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575.
6. Hache pédiforme en bronze, fragmentaire. Provenance: Haute Rivière Noire, Tonkin. Patine noirâtre. La surface est rugueuse. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32573.
7. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575.
8. Celt en bronze. Indo-Chine. Patine brunâtre et couleur de rouille. Anc. coll. Demange. Musée Cernuschi, n:o 7362.
9. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Patine noirâtre. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575.
10. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Cho-Ras, province de Bac-Kan, Tonkin. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 56016. Don du C:el Grossin.
11. Celt en bronze. Provenance: région de Saïgon (Cochin-Chine). Patine noirâtre. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 50375. Don du docteur Corre.
12. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Haute Rivière Noire, Tonkin. Patine noirâtre. Mission Pavie. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32574.
13. Celt en bronze. Provenance: région de Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Patine verte et noirâtre. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32575.

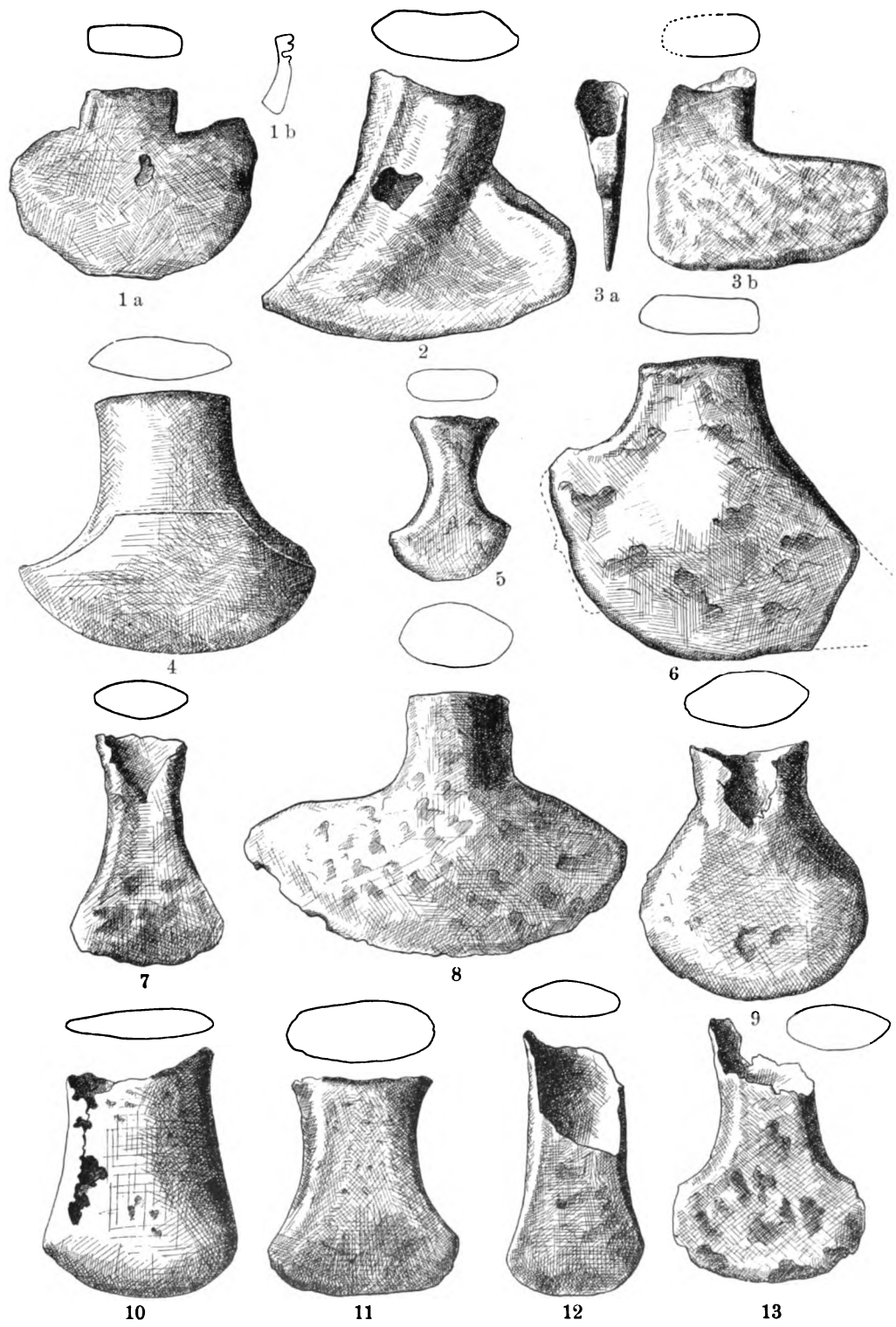


PLANCHE VI

PLANCHE VI.

- 1—3. Celts en bronze. Provenance: Java occidental. Musée du Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.
4. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Tjigowong (Buitenzorg), Java. Musée du Kon. Bat. Gen. v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.
- 5, 6. Celts en bronze. Provenance: Moendjoel (Soekaboemi), Java. Musée du Kon. Bat. Gen. v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.
7. Arme de cérémonie en bronze. Provenance: Tji Hondje (Bandoeng), Java. Musée du Kon. Bat. Gen. v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen, Batavia. Longueur 74 cm.
8. Arme en bronze semblable au précédent. Provenance: Java. Naturhist. Mus. der Stadt Mainz. Longueur de la lame 50 cm.
9. Celt en bronze. Provenance: Célèbes. D'après J. J. A. Worsaae. *Des âges de pierre et de bronze dans l'ancien et le nouveau monde* in *Mémoires de la Société Royale des Antiquaires du Nord*; nouvelle série; 1878—83, p. 196, fig. 4. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

OLOV JANSE: Un groupe de bronzes anciens.



PLANCHE VII

PLANCHE VII.

Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.

Tous les objets appartiennent au Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient,
Stockholm.

- 1 a, b. Hache asymétrique vue de deux faces. Provenance: Yünnan. N:o 11034: 45.
2. Hache symétrique, pourvue d'un anneau. Provenance: Yünnan. N:o 11034: 41.
3. Hache symétrique ornée d'une tresse irrégulière. Provenance: Yünnan. N:o 11034: 31.
- 4 a, b. Hache asymétrique vue de face et de profil; sections transversales. Provenance: Yünnan. N:o 11034: 38.
- 5 a, b. Hache asymétrique ornée d'un méandre et de lignes parallèles. Provenance: Yünnan. N:o 11034: 42.
6. Hache asymétrique, ornée de deux bourrelets parallèles. Provenance: région de Sianfu (Shensi). N:o 11071: 101.

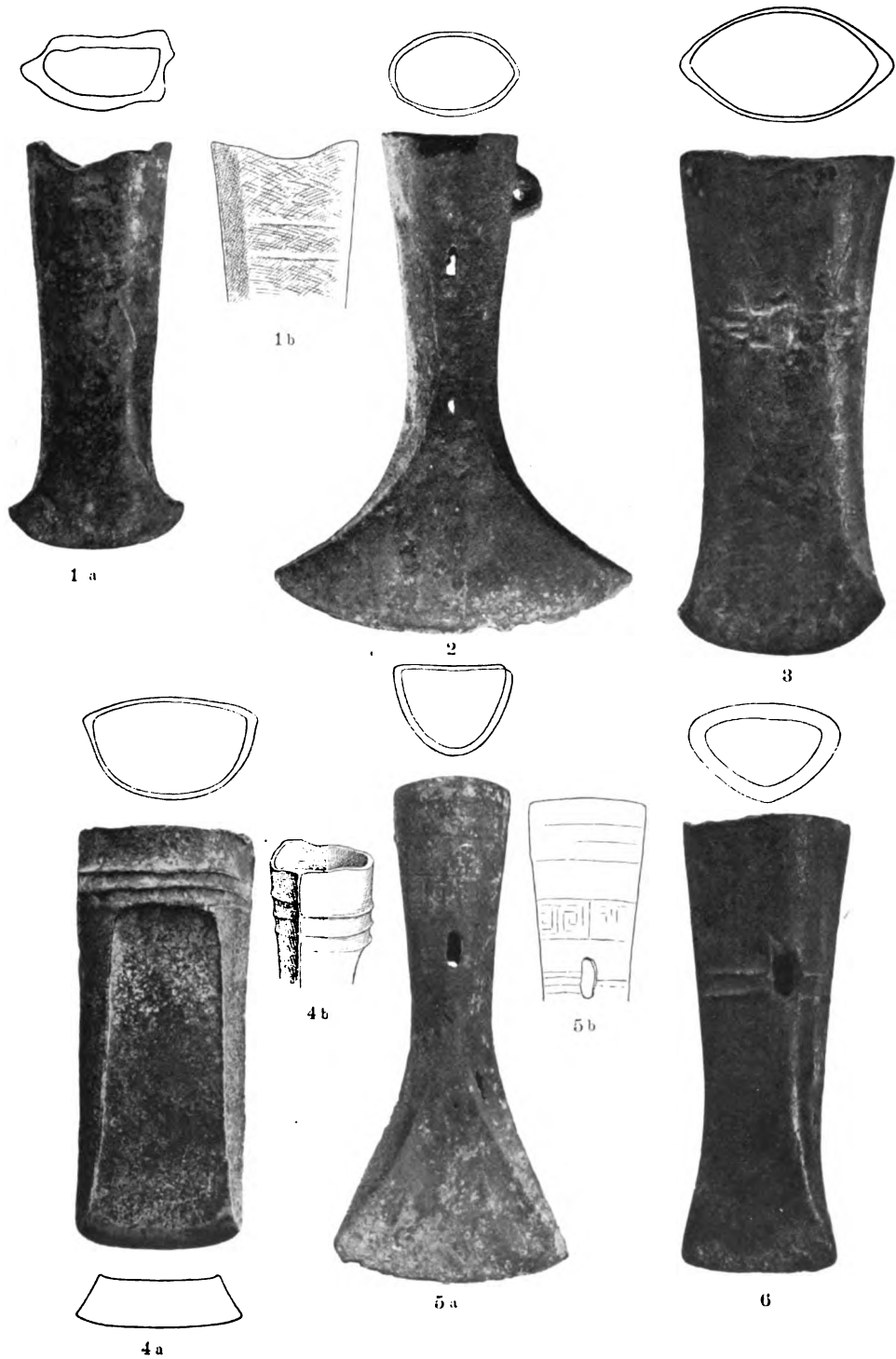


PLANCHE VIII

PLANCHE VIII.

N^{os} 1, 3—7, 9(?), 11, 12 haches symétriques en bronze. N^{os} 2, 8, 10 haches asymétriques en bronze. N^{os} 13—15 objets à destination incertaine (pointes de flèche?). Bronze. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$. D'après des dessins faits par M^{lle} M. Chabance, Paris.

1. Patine verte. Provenance: Som-ron-sen (Cambodge), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 57068. Don F. Vitout.
2. Patine brune, couleur de rouille. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi, n^o 7360. Anc. coll. Demange.
3. Patine noirâtre. Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575.
4. Patine noirâtre. Une des faces est ornée d'un mince bourrelet, l'autre face est unie. Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575. Mission Pavie(?).
5. Patine noirâtre. Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 46444. Probabl. mission Lefèvre Pontalis.
6. Patine verte. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575. Mission Pavie.
7. Patine noirâtre. Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 46444. Mission Lefèvre Pontalis.
8. Patine verte. L'une des faces est ornée de bourrelets constituant un dessin géométrique. L'autre face est unie. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi, n^o 7357. Anc. coll. Demange.
9. Patine vert foncé. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575.
10. Patine verdâtre. Indo-Chine. Musée Cernuschi, n^o 7359. Anc. coll. Demange.
11. Provenance: Luang-Prabang(?) (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575. Mission Pavie.
12. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 32575. Mission Pavie.
- 13—15. Provenance: Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n^o 46445. Mission Lefèvre Pontalis.

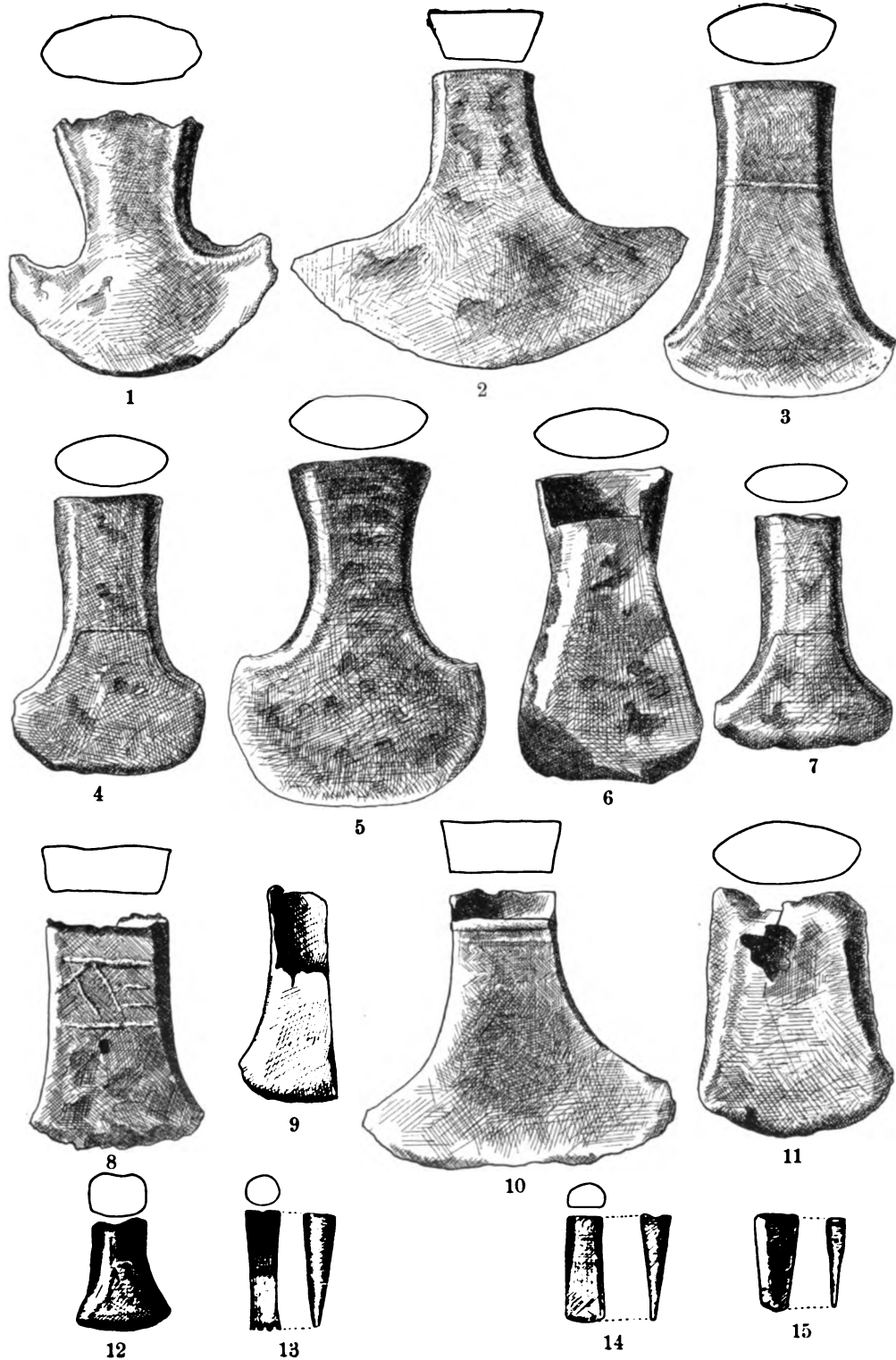


PLANCHE IX

PLANCHE IX.

1—3 grandeur ¹/₁.

1. Hache asymétrique en bronze, acquise à Yünnanfu (Yünnan), Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 39.
2. Haches asymétriques en bronze. Provenance: Shou-chou (Anhui), Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 117. Grandeur ¹/₁.
3. Hache plate et massive. Birmanie. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11097.
4. Pen chinois en bronze. Provenance: Dong-son (Annam), Indo-Chine. D'après V. Goloubew, *L'âge du bronze au Tonkin* in *B. E. F. E. O.*, t. XXIX, p. 14, fig. 3 a.

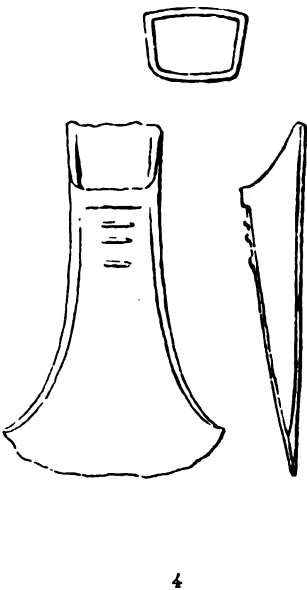
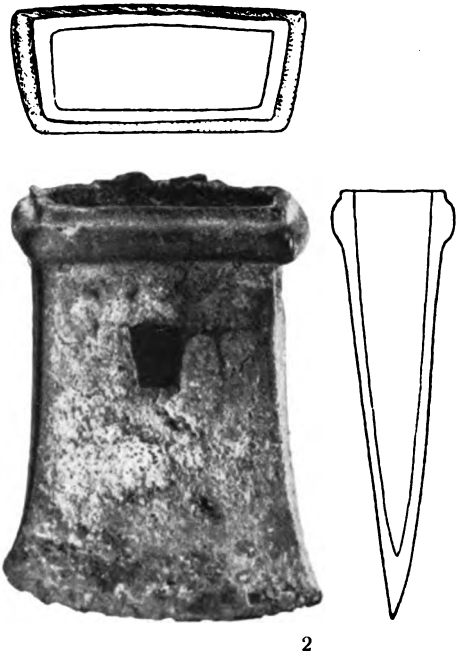
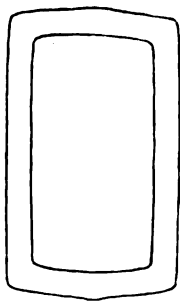
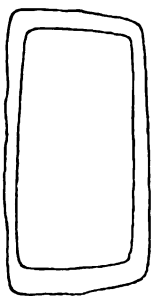
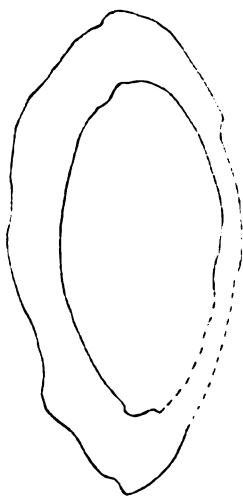


PLANCHE X

PLANCHE X.

Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.

- 1. Hache symétrique en bronze. Provenance probable: Honan, Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 10599: 55.**
- 2, 3. Haches symétriques en bronze. Yünnan, Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 82, 11034: 32.**



3



2



1

PLANCHE XI

PLANCHE XI.

Grandeur env. ²/₃.

- 1—5. Haches symétriques en bronze. La hache n:o 1 est orné seulement sur l'une des faces (celle qui est reproduite). Le bourrelet de la hache n:o 2 court tout autour de la douille. Laos, Indo-Chine. Musée national (département d'Ethnographie), Copenhague. N:os 02017, 02019, 12015, 02018 et 02016. D'après des photographies publiées avec l'autorisation du Musée.
- 6, 7. Haches symétriques en bronze. Provenance: région de S'zemaou, Yünnan, Chine. Museo preistorico-etnografico (Rome), n:os 4470 G, 4471 G. D'après des dessins fait par l'auteur, publiés avec l'autorisation du Musée.

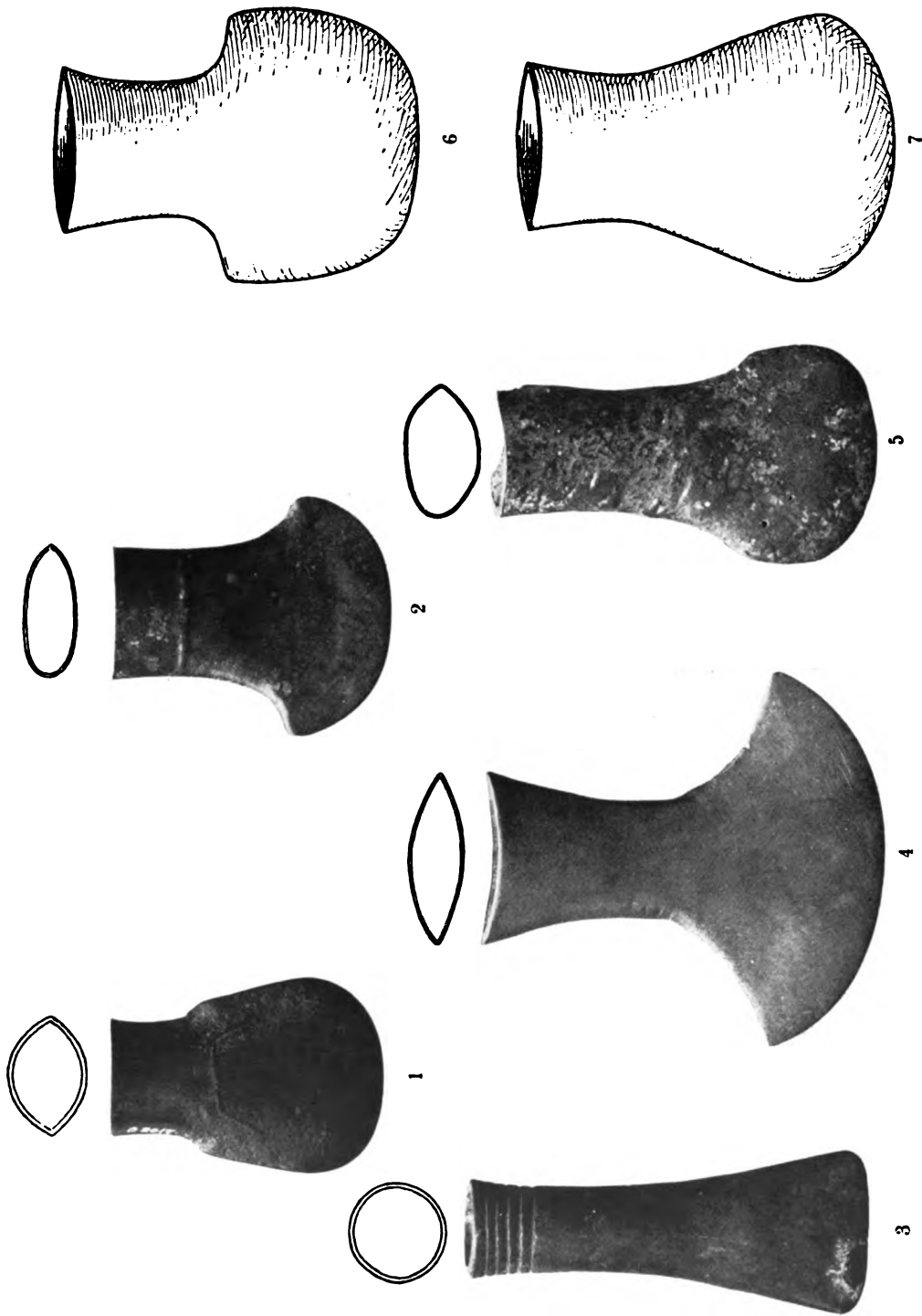


PLANCHE XII

PLANCHE XII.

**Hache d'arme en bronze vue de face et coupe transversale. Acquisée à Peking.
Provenance présumée: Extrême-Asie méridionale. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-
Orient, n:o 10442. Grandeur $\frac{1}{10}$.**



a

b

PLANCHE XIII

PLANCHE XIII.

**La même hache que celle qui est reproduite Pl. XII mais vue de l'autre face.
Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.**



PLANCHE XIV

PLANCHE XIV.

Objets en bronze, ornés dans le style dit Ch'in. Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient.

1. Anse(?) avec anneau. Provenance inconnue. Acquisée à Londres. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$, N:o 11073: 4. Grandeur env. $\frac{1}{1}$.
2. Détail du décor d'une grande cloche en bronze. Acquisée à Peking. Don du Dr E. Hultmark. La cloche a été reproduite par M. O. Sirén dans son ouvrage *A History of early Chinese Art*, t. I, Pl. 106.
3. Agrafe. Provenance inconnue. Grandeur env. $\frac{1}{1}$. N:o 11035: 28.
4. Vase. Provenance présumée: San Piao près Wei Huei fu, Honan du Nord. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$. N:o 11278: 25.
5. Détail du décor d'une grande cloche (fig. 14), déterrée à Changsha, Hunan. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$. N:o 11276: 72.



1



2



3



5



4

PLANCHE XV

PLANCHE XV.

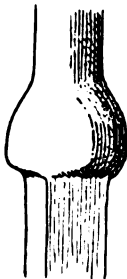
1. Poignard en bronze. Provenance: Flädie, commune d'Alfshög, province de Halland, Suède sud-occidentale. Musée Historique de l'Etat (Stockholm), n:o 1796. D'après une photographie. Grandeur ¹/₁.
- 2 Poignard en bronze. Provenance: Ananino, Russie. D'après Baron de Baye in *Mém. Soc. Nat. des Antiquaires de France*; sixième série, t. VI, fig. XXIII, p. 21.
- 3 a— d. Poignard en bronze, vu de face (3 a), de demi-profil (3 c); section transversale de la lame (3 d) et du pommeau (3 b). Yünnan, Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034:37. Grandeur ¹/₁.
- 4 a— c. Poignard en bronze, vu de face (4 b), contour du pommeau (4 c) et coupe transversale de la lame (4 a). Yünnan, Chine. Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034:36. Grandeur ¹/₂.



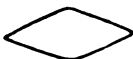
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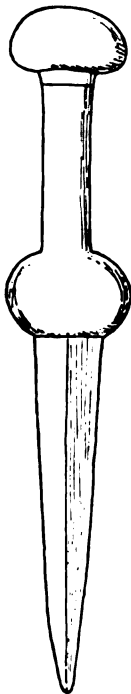
3 b



3 c



3 d



2



3 a



4 c



4 b



4 a

PLANCHE XVI

PLANCHE XVI.

Grandeur $> \frac{1}{1}$.

D'après des dessins faits par M^{lle} M. Chabance, Paris.

- 1 a—e. Poignard en bronze [ou en cuivre(?)] vu de face (1 a) ; le décor de la garde (1 b, c) ; le pommeau vu d'en haut (1 d) et le décor que l'on voit sur l'une des faces de la lame (1 e). Provenance: To-Luh sur la ligne du chemin de fer de Teu-Baï à Loc-Kaï, Haute Vallée du Fleuve Rouge (Indo-Chine). Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, n:o 50706.
- 2 a—c. Fragment de pointe de lance en bronze vu de face (2 a), coupe de la douille (2 b) et coupe de la lame (2 c). Provenance: région de Luang-Prabang (Laos), Indo-Chine. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32576. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$. Mission Pavie.
- 3 a—c. Pointe de lance en bronze vue de face (3 a), coupe de la douille (3 b) et coupe de la lame (3 c). Provenance: Subsang chu, Thais de la Haute Rivière Noire, canton du Tuang Giao, Tonkin. Musée de Saint-Germain, n:o 32572.

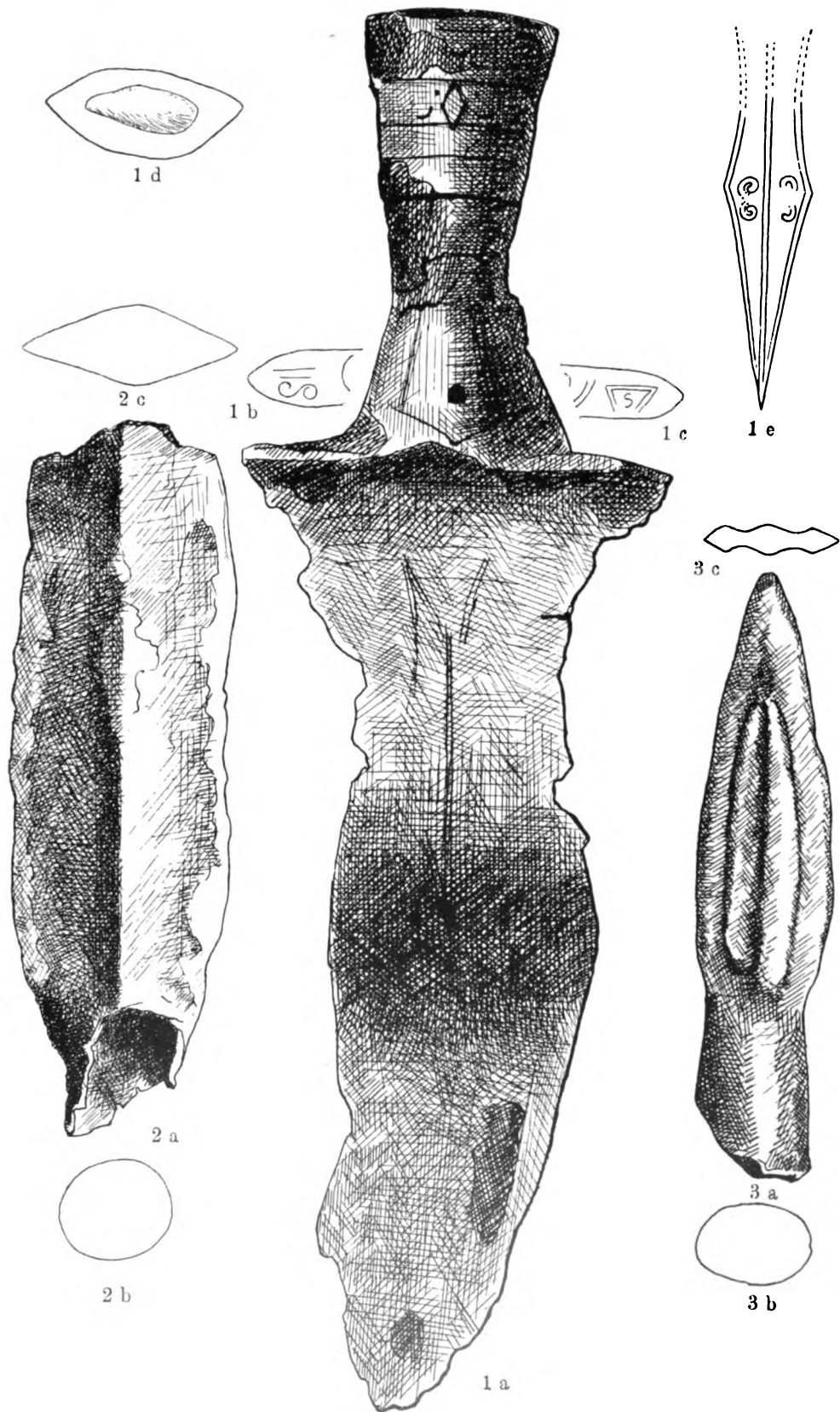
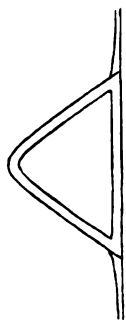
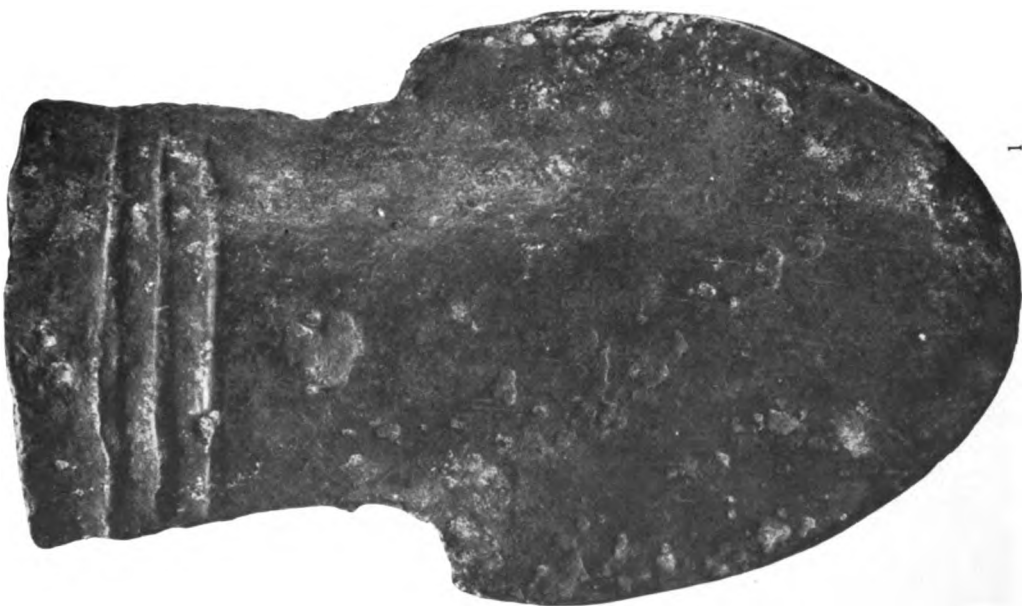


PLANCHE XVII

PLANCHE XVII.

1. Houe ou soc de charrue en bronze. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 43. Grandeur $\frac{1}{1}$.
2. Houe ou soc de charrue en bronze. Yünnan (Chine). Musée des Antiquités d'Extrême-Orient, n:o 11034: 34. Grandeur $\frac{1}{2}$.



LIST OF INSTITUTIONS FROM WHICH THE MUSEUM OF FAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES RECEIVES PUBLICATIONS IN EXCHANGE FOR ITS BULLETIN

AMSTERDAM.	Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst. (<i>Maandblad voor beeldende Kunsten</i>).
BATAVIA.	Koninkl. Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. (<i>Oudheidkundig Verslag</i>).
BERLIN.	Editor of <i>Baessler Archiv</i> .
BUDAPEST.	Hopp Ferenc-Keletázsiai Művészeti Múzeum (Franz Hopp-Museum of Far Eastern Art).
BUDAPEST.	Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (National Hungarian Museum). (<i>Archaeologiai Értesítő</i>).
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.	Peabody Museum, Harvard University. (<i>Papers</i>).
CANTON.	Geological Survey of Kwantung & Kwangsi. (<i>Annual report, Palaeontological memoirs, Special publication</i>).
CHICAGO.	Field Museum of Natural History. (<i>Anthropological series, Report series, Anthropology memoirs</i>).
DAIREN.	The South Manchuria Railway. (<i>Report</i>).
FRANKFURT A. M.	China Institut. (<i>Sinica, Chinesisch-Deutscher Almanach</i>).
HAMBURG.	Hamburgisches Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.
HANOI.	Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient. (<i>Bulletin</i>).
HELSINGFORS.	Finska fornminnesföreningen. [<i>Finska fornminnesföreningens Tidskrift (Suomen Muinaismuistoyhdistyksen Aikakauskirja), Finskt Museum, Suomen Museo, Eurasia septentrionalis antiqua</i>].
HELSINGFORS.	Finska Orientsällskapet.
HONOLULU.	Bernice P. Bishop Museum. (<i>Bulletin</i>).
KYOTO.	Imperial University. Department of Literature. (<i>Report upon archaeological research</i>).
KØBENHAVN.	Nationalmuseets Etnografiske Afdelning. (<i>Fra Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark</i>).
LEYDEN.	Kern Institute. (<i>Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology</i>).
LEYDEN.	Sinologisch Instituut. (<i>Sinica Leidensia</i>).
LONDON.	The India Society. (<i>Journal</i>).
LONDON.	Royal Anthropological Institute. (<i>Journal, Man</i>).
LONDON.	School of Oriental Studies. (<i>Bulletin</i>).

MINOUSSINSK.	Gos. muz. imeni Mart'janova (Martjanov Mus.) [<i>Proceedings (Ежегодник)</i>].
MÜNCHEN.	Museum für Völkerkunde.
NANKING.	The University of Nanking. (<i>Nanking Journal</i>).
NEW YORK.	Metropolitan Museum of Art. (<i>Bulletin</i>).
PARIS.	Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie de l'Université de Paris. (<i>Répertoire d'art et d'archéologie</i>).
PARIS.	Musée d'Ethnographie comparée, Palais du Trocadéro. (<i>Bulletin</i>).
PARIS.	Editor of <i>T'oung Pao</i> .
PEIPING.	Geological Survey of China. (<i>Palaeontologia Sinica, Soil Bulletin, Seismological Bulletin</i>).
PEIPING.	Library Association of China. (<i>Library Science Quarterly</i>).
PEIPING.	National Library. (<i>Annual Report</i>).
PEIPING.	North China Union Language School.
PEIPING.	Tsing Hua University Library.
PEIPING.	Yenching University. (<i>Yenching Journal of Chinese Studies</i>).
PHILADELPHIA.	Pennsylvanian Museum of Art. (<i>Eastern Art</i>).
SEOUL.	The Service of Antiquities. Government-General of Chosen (<i>Special report, Report</i>).
SHANGHAI.	North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. (<i>Journal</i>).
TOKYO.	Anthropological Society, Imperial University. (<i>Journal</i>).
TOKYO.	Far Eastern Archaeological Society. (<i>Archaeologia Orientalis, Kōkōgaku Zasshi</i>).
TOKYO & NARA.	Imperial Household Museum. (<i>Annual Report</i>).
WARSZAWA.	Państwowe Muzeum archeologiczne (Musée archéologique polonais). [<i>Wiadomości archeologiczne (Bulletin archéologique polonais)</i>].
WASHINGTON.	Smithsonian Institution.
WIEN.	Verein der Freunde Asiatischer Kunst und Kultur in Wien. (<i>Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Asiens</i>).
WIEN.	Anthropologische Gesellschaft. (<i>Mitteilungen</i>).
WIEN.	Wiener Prähistorische Gesellschaft. (<i>Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift</i>).
WIEN.	Editor of <i>Anthropos</i> .

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